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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

FROM THE
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO
The REVOLUTION in 1688.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. VI.

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C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

S I X T H V O L U M E.

C H A P. XXXIV.

E D W A R D VI.

State of the regency — Innovations in the regency — Hertford protector — Reformation completed — Gardiner's opposition — Foreign affairs — Progress of the reformation in Scotland — Assassination of cardinal Beaton — Conduct of the war with Scotland — Battle of Pinkey — A parliament — Farther progress of the reformation — Affairs of Scotland — Young queen of Scots sent into France — Cabals of lord Seymour — Dudley earl of Warwick — A parliament — Attainder of lord Seymour — His execution — Ecclesiastical affairs. Page 1

C H A P. XXXV.

Discontents of the people — Insurrections — Conduct of the war with Scotland — with France — Factions in the council — Conspiracy against Somerset — Somerset resigns the protectorship — A parliament — Peace with France and Scotland — Boulogne surrendered — Persecution of Gardiner — Warwick created duke of Northumberland — His ambition — Trial of Somerset — His execution — A Parliament — A new parliament — Succession changed — The king's sickness — and death. 59

C H A P. XXXVI.

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C H A P. XXXV.

Discontents of the people — Insurrections — Conduct of the war with Scotland — with France — Factions in the council — Conspiracy against Somerset — Somerset resigns the protectorship — A parliament — Peace with France and Scotland — Boulogne surrendered — Persecution of Gardiner — Warwick created duke of Northumberland — His ambition — Trial of Somerset — His execution — A Parliament — A new parliament — Succession changed — The king's sickness — and death. 59

C H A P. XXXVI.

M A R Y.

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen — Deserted by the people — The queen proclaimed and acknowledged

C O N T E N T S.

— Northumberland executed — Catholic religion restored — A parliament — Deliberations with regard to the queen's marriage — Queen's marriage with Philip — Wyatt's insurrection — Suppressed — Execution of Lady Jane Gray — A parliament — Philip's arrival in England. Page 110.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Reasons for and against Toleration — Persecutions — A parliament — The queen's extortions — The emperor resigns his crown — Execution of Cranmer — War with France — Battle of St. Quentin — Calais taken by the French — Affairs of Scotland — Marriage of the Dauphin and the queen of Scots — A parliament — Death of the queen. Page 160.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

E L I Z A B E T H.

Queen's popularity — Re-establishment of the protestant religion — A parliament — Peace with France — Disgust between the queen and Mary queen of Scots — Affairs of Scotland — Reformation in Scotland — Civil wars in Scotland — Interposul of the queen in the affairs of Scotland — Settlement of Scotland — French affairs — Arrival of Mary in Scotland — Rigotry of the Scotch Reformers — Wise government of Elizabeth. 218

C H A P. XXXIX.

State of Europe — Civil wars of France — Havre de Grace put in possession of the English — A parliament — Havre lost — Affairs of Scotland — The queen of Scots marries the earl of Darnley — Confederacy against the protestants — Murder of Rizzio — A parliament — Murder of Darnley — Queen of Scots marries Bothwell — Insurrections in Scotland — Imprisonment of Mary — Mary flies into England — Conferences at York and Hampton Court. 298

THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.

C H A P. XXXIV.

E D W A R D VI.

State of the regency — Innovations in the regency — Hertford protector — Reformation completed — Gardiner's opposition — Foreign affairs — Progress of the reformation in Scotland — Assassination of cardinal Beaton — Conduct of the war with Scotland — Battle of Pinkey — A parliament — Farther progress of the reformation — Affairs of Scotland — Young queen of Scots sent into France — Cabals of lord Seymour — Dudley earl of Warwick — A parliament — Attainder of lord Seymour — His execution — Ecclesiastical affairs.

THE late king, by the regulations, which he imposed on the government of his infant son, as well as by the limitations of the succession, had

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1547.

VOL. VI. B

C H A P. projected to reign even after his decease; and he
 XXXIV. imagined, that his ministers, who had always
 1547. been so obsequious to him during his life-time,
 State of the would never afterwards depart from the plan,
 regency. which he had traced out to them. He fixed the
 majority of the prince at the completion of his
 eighteenth year; and as Edward was then only
 a few months past nine, he appointed sixteen
 executors; to whom, during the minority, he in-
 trusted the government of the king and kingdom.
 Their names were, Cranmer, archbishop of
 Canterbury; lord Wriothesely, chancellor; lord
 St. John, great master; lord Ruffel, privy seal;
 the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle,
 admiral; Tonstal, bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony
 Brown, master of horse; Sir William Paget,
 secretary of state; Sir Edward North, chancellor
 of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward
 Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; judge
 Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William
 Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber;
 Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; Dr.
 Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To these executors,
 with whom was intrusted the whole regal
 authority, were appointed twelve counsellors,
 who possessed no immediate power, and could
 only assist with their advice, when any affair was
 laid before them. The council was composed of
 the earls of Arundel and Essex; Sir Thomas
 Cheyney, treasurer of the household; Sir John
 Gage, comptroller; Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-

chamberlain; Sir William Petre, secretary of state; C H A P.
 Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph XXXIV.
 Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwel, 1547.
 and Sir Edmund Peckham¹. The usual caprice
 of Henry appears somewhat in this nomination;
 while he appointed several persons of inferior station
 among his executors, and gave only the place
 of counsellor to a person of such high rank as
 the earl of Arundel, and to Sir Thomas Seymour
 the king's uncle.

BUT the first act of the executors and counsellors Innovations
in the re-
gency.
 was to depart from the destination of the late
 king in a material article. No sooner were they
 met, than it was suggested, that the government
 would loose its dignity, for want of some head,
 who might represent the royal majesty, who
 might receive addresses from foreign ambassadors,
 to whom dispatches from English ministers abroad
 might be carried, and whose name might be em-
 ployed in all orders and proclamations: And as the
 king's will seemed to labor under a defect in this
 particular, it was deemed necessary to supply it,
 by chusing a protector; who, though he should
 possess all the exterior symbols of royal dignity,
 should yet be bound, in every act of power, to
 follow the opinion of the executors². This pro-
 posal was very disagreeable to chancellor Wrio-
 thesely. That magistrate, a man of an active

¹ Strype's Memor. vol. ii. p. 457.
 ii. p. 5.

² Burnet. vol.

C H A P. spirit and high ambition, found himself, by his
 XXXIV. office, entitled to the first rank in the regency
 1547. after the primate; and as he knew, that this prelate
 had no talent or inclination for state affairs, he
 hoped, that the direction of public business would
 of course devolve in a great measure upon himself.
 He opposed, therefore, the proposal of chusing
 a protector; and represented that innovation as
 an infringement of the late king's will, which,
 being corroborated by act of parliament, ought
 in every thing to be a law to them, and could
 not be altered but by the same authority, which
 had established it. But he seems to have stood
 alone in the opposition. The executors and
 counsellors were mostly courtiers, who had been
 raised by Henry's favor, not men of high birth
 or great hereditary influence; and as they had been
 sufficiently accustomed to submission during the
 reign of the late monarch, and had no pretensions
 to govern the nation by their own authority,
 they acquiesced the more willingly in a proposal,
 which seemed calculated for preserving public
 peace and tranquillity. It being therefore agreed
 to name a protector, the choice fell of course on
 the earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's
 maternal uncle, was strongly interested in his
 safety; and possessing no claims to inherit the
 crown, could never have any separate interest,
 which might lead him to endanger Edward's person
 or his authority³. The public was informed by

Hertford
 protector.

³ Heylin, Hist. Ref. Edw. VI.

proclamation of this change in the administration; and dispatches were sent to all foreign courts to give them intimation of it. All those who were possessed of any office resigned their former commissions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king. The bishops themselves were constrained to make a like submission. Care was taken to insert in their new commissions, that they held their office during pleasure⁴: And it is there expressly affirmed, that all manner of authority and jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, is originally derived from the crown⁵.

C H A P.
XXXIV.
1547.

THE executors, in their next measure, showed a more submissive deference to Henry's will; because many of them found their account in it. The late king had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to supply the place of those peerages, which had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of issue; and that he might enable the new peers to support their dignity, he had resolved, either to bestow estates on them, or advance them to higher offices. He had even gone so far as to inform them of this resolution, and in his will, he charged his executors to make good all his promises⁶. That they might ascertain his intentions in the most authentic manner, Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, with whom

⁴ Collier, vol. ii. p. 218. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 6. Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141.

⁵ Strype's Mem. of Cranm.

p. 141.

⁶ Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer.

6 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

C H A P. Henry had always conversed in a familiar manner,
XXXIV. were called before the board of regency; and having
1547. given evidence of what they knew concerning
the king's promises, their testimony was relied
on, and the executors proceeded to the fulfilling
of these engagements. Hertford was created duke
17th Feb. of Somerset, marshal and lord treasurer; Wrio-
thesely, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex,
marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl
of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour
of Sudley, and admiral; Sir Richard Rich, Sir
William Willoughby, Sir Edward Sheffield accept-
ed the title of Baron⁷. Several to whom the
same dignity was offered, refused it; because the
other part of the king's promise, the bestowing
of estates on these new noblemen, was deferred
till a more convenient opportunity. Some of
them, however, as also Somerset the protector,
were, in the mean time, endowed with spiritual
preferments, deaneries and prebends. For among
many other invasions of ecclesiastical privileges
and property, this irregular practice, of bestowing
spiritual benefices on laymen, began now to
prevail.

The earl of Southampton had always been
engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and it
was not likely that factions, which had secretly
prevailed, even during the arbitrary reign of
Henry, should be suppressed in the weak admi-
nistration, that usually attends a minority. The

⁷ Stowe's Annals, p. 594.

former nobleman, that he might have the greater leisure for attending to public business, had, of himself and from his own authority, put the great seal in commission, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwell, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellasis, to execute in his absence the office of chancellor. This measure seemed very exceptionable; and the more so, as, two of the commissioners being canonists, the lawyers suspected, that, by this nomination, the chancellor had intended to discredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council: who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of the opportunity to depress Southampton. They consulted the judges with regard to so unusual a case, and received for answer, that the commission was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his presumption in granting it, had justly forfeited the great seal, and was even liable to punishment. The council summoned him to appear before them. He maintained, that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on an act of parliament, and could not lose it without a trial in parliament; that if the commission, which he had granted, were found illegal, it might be cancelled, and all the ill consequences of it be easily remedied; and that the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature, was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authorized. But the council, notwithstanding these topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited the great seal; that a fine should be imposed upon him; and that he

C H A P.

XXXIV.

1547.

§ HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

C H A P. should be confined to his own house during
XXXIV. pleasure^s.

1547.

22 March.

THE removal of Southampton increased the protector's authority, as well as tended to suppress faction in the regency; yet was not Somerset contented with this advantage: His ambition carried him to seek still farther acquisitions. On pretence, that the vote of the executors, choosing him protector, was not a sufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, by which he entirely overturned the will of Henry VIII. produced a total revolution in the government, and may seem even to have subverted all the laws of the kingdom. He named himself protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, consisting of all the former counsellors, and all the executors, except Southampton: He reserved a power of naming any other counsellors at pleasure: And he was bound to consult with such only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewise empowered to act at discretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public service, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, statute, proclamation, or ordinance whatsoever². Even had this patent been more moderate in its concessions, and had it been drawn by direction, from the executors appointed by Henry, its legality might justly be questioned;

¹ Hollingshed. p. 979.
N^o 6.

² Burnet, vol. ii. Records,

since it seems essential to a trust of this nature to C H A P.
be exercised by the persons intrusted, and not XXXIV.
to admit of a delegation to others: But as the 1547.
patent, by its very tenor, where the executors
are not so much as mentioned, appears to have
been surreptitiously obtained from a minor King,
the protectorship of Somerset was a plain usurpa-
tion, which it is impossible by any arguments to
justify. The connivance, however, of the executors.
and their present acquiescence in the new establish-
ment, made it be universally submitted to; and
as the young king discovered an extreme attach-
ment to his uncle, who was also in the main a
man of moderation and probity, no objections
were made to his power and title. All men of
sense, likewise, who saw the nation divided by
the religious zeal of the opposite sects, deemed
it the more necessary to intrust the government
to one person, who might check the exorbitancies
of faction, and ensure the public tranquillity.
And though some clauses of the patent seemed
to imply a formal subversion of all limited
government, so little jealousy was then usually
entertained on that head, that no exception was
ever taken at bare claims or pretensions of this
nature, advanced by any person possessed of
sovereign power. The actual exercise alone of
arbitrary administration, and that in many and
great and flagrant and unpopular instances, was
able sometimes to give some umbrage to the
nation.

C H A P.

XXXIV.

1547.

Reforma-
tion com-
pleted.

THE extensive authority and imperious character of Henry had retained the partisans of both religions in subjection; but upon his demise, the hopes of the protestants and the fears of the catholics began to revive, and the zeal of these parties produced every where disputes and animosities, the usual preludes to more fatal divisions. The protector had long been regarded as a secret partisan of the reformers; and being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to discover his intention of correcting all abuses in the ancient religion, and of adopting still more of the protestant innovations. He took care, that all persons, intrusted with the king's education, should be attached to the same principles; and as the young prince discovered a zeal for every kind of literature, especially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men foresaw, in the course of his reign, the total abolition of the catholic faith in England; and they early began to declare themselves in favor of those tenets, which were likely to become in the end entirely prevalent. After Southampton's fall, few members of the council seemed to retain any attachment to the Romish communion; and most of the counsellors appeared even sanguine in forwarding the progress of the reformation. The riches, which most of them had acquired from the spoils of the clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and by establishing a contrariety of speculative tenets, as well as of discipline and worship, to render a

coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable¹⁰. Their rapacity also, the chief source of their reforming spirit, was excited by the prospect of pillaging the secular, as they had already done the regular clergy; and they knew, that, while any share of the old principles remained, or any regard to the ecclesiastics, they could never hope to succeed in that enterprise.

C H A P.
XXXIV.
1547.

THE numerous and burthenfome superstitions, with which the Romish church was loaded, had thrown many of the reformers, by the spirit of opposition, into an enthusiastic strain of devotion; and all rites, ceremonies, pomp, order, and exterior observances were zealously proscribed by them, as hindrances to their spiritual contemplations, and obstructions to their immediate converse with heaven. Many circumstances concurred to inflame this daring spirit; the novelty itself of their doctrine, the triumph of making profelytes, the furious persecutions to which they were exposed, their animosity against the ancient tenets and practices, and the necessity of procuring the concurrence of the laity, by depressing the hierarchy, and by tendering to them the plunder of the ecclesiastics. Wherever the reformation prevailed over the opposition of civil authority, this genius of religion appeared in its full extent, and was attended with consequences, which, though less durable, were, for some time, not less dangerous than those which were connected

¹⁰ Goodwin's Annals, Heylin.

C H A P. with the ancient superstition. But as the magistrate
XXXIV. took the lead in England, the transition was more
1547. gradual; much of the ancient religion was still
preserved; and a reasonable degree of subordination
was retained in discipline, as well as some pomp,
order, and ceremony in public worship.

THE protector, in his schemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people by insensible innovations, to that system of doctrine and discipline, which he deemed the most pure and perfect. He probably also foresaw, that a system, which carefully avoided the extremes of reformation, was likely to be most lasting; and that a devotion, merely spiritual, was fitted only for the first fervors of a new sect, and upon the relaxation of these, naturally gave place to the inroads of superstition. He seems therefore to have intended the establishment of a hierarchy, which, being suited to a great and settled government, might stand as a perpetual barrier against Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after their enthusiastic zeal was diminished or entirely evaporated.

THE person, who opposed, with greatest authority, any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late disgusts, which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age,

experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his party. This prelate still continued to magnify the great wisdom and learning of the late king, which, indeed, were generally and sincerely revered by the nation; and he insisted on the prudence of persevering, at least till the young king's majority, in the ecclesiastical model, established by that great monarch. He defended the use of images, which were now openly attacked by the protestants; and he represented them as serviceable in maintaining a sense of religion among the illiterate multitude¹¹. He even deigned to write an apology for *holy water*, which bishop Ridley had decried in a sermon; and he maintained, that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an instrument of doing good; as much as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of Christ's garment, or the spittle and clay laid upon the eyes of the blind¹². Above all, he insisted, that the laws ought to be observed, that the constitution ought to be preserved inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the sovereign, in opposition to an act of parliament¹³.

C H A P.

XXXIV.

• 1547.

Gardiner's
opposition.

BUT though there remained at that time in England an idea of laws and a constitution, sufficient at least to furnish a topic of argument to such as were discontented with any immediate exercise of authority, this plea could scarcely,

¹¹ Fox, vol. ii. p. 712.¹² Ibid. p. 724.¹³ Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. Fox, vol. ii.

C H A P. in the present case, be maintained with any platt-
 XXXIV. sibility by Gardiner. An act of parliament had
 1547. • invested the crown with a legislative power; and
 royal proclamations, even during a minority, were
 armed with the force of laws. The protector,
 finding himself supported by this statute, was
 determined to employ his authority in favor of
 the reformers; and having suspended, during the
 interval, the jurisdiction of the bishops, he ap-
 pointed a general visitation to be made in all the
 dioceses of England¹⁴. The visitors consisted of
 a mixture of clergy and laity, and had six circuits
 assigned them. The chief purport of their in-
 structions was, besides correcting immoralities
 and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the
 ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline
 and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the
 reformed churches. The moderation of Somerset
 and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of this
 delicate affair. The visitors were enjoined to retain
 for the present all images which had not been
 abused to idolatry; and to instruct the people not
 to despise such ceremonies as were not yet ab-
 rogated, but only to beware of some particular
 superstitions, such as the sprinkling of their beds
 with holy water, and the ringing of bells, or
 using of consecrated candles, in order to drive
 away the devil¹⁵.

BUT nothing required more the correcting hand
 of authority, than the abuse of preaching, which

¹⁴ Mem. Cran. p. 146, 147, etc.
 vol. ii. p. 28.

¹⁵ Burnet,

was now generally employed, throughout England, in defending the ancient practices and superstitions. The court of augmentations, in order to ease the exchequer of the annuities paid to monks, had commonly placed them in the vacant churches; and these men were led by interest, as well as by inclination, to support those principles, which had been invented for the profit of the clergy. Orders therefore were given to restrain the topics of their sermons: Twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people: And all of them were prohibited, without express permission, from preaching any where but in their parish churches. The purpose of this injunction was to throw a restraint on the catholic divines; while the protestant, by the grant of particular licences, should be allowed unbounded liberty.

BONNER made some opposition to these measures; but soon after retracted and acquiesced. Gardiner was more high spirited and more steady. He represented the peril of perpetual innovations, and the necessity of adhering to some system. " 'Tis a dangerous thing," said he, " to use too much freedom, in researches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run farther than you have a mind to. If you indulge the humor of novelty, you cannot put a stop to people's demands, nor govern their indiscretions at pleasure. For my part," said he, on another occasion, " my sole concern is to manage the third and last act of my life with decency, and to make a handsome exit.

C H A P.

XXXIV.

1547.

CHAP. " off the stage. Provided this point is secured,
 XXXIV. " I am not solicitous about the rest. I am already
 1547. " by nature condemned to death : No man can
 " give me a pardon from this sentence ; nor so
 " much as procure me a reprieve. To speak my
 " mind, and to act as my conscience directs, are
 " two branches of liberty, which I can never
 " part with. Sincerity in speech, and integrity
 " in action, are entertaining qualities : They will
 " stick by a man, when every thing else takes
 " its leave ; and I must not resign them upon
 " any consideration. The best on it is, if I do
 " not throw them away myself, no man can force
 " them from me : But if I give them up, then
 " am I ruined by myself, and deserve to lose all
 " my preferments ¹⁶." This opposition of Gardiner
 drew on him the indignation of the council ;
 and he was sent to the Fleet, where he was used
 with some severity.

ONE of the chief objections, urged by Gardiner
 against the new homilies, was that they defined,
 with the most metaphysical precision, the doctrines
 of grace, and of justification by faith ; points,
 he thought, which it was superfluous for any
 man to know exactly, and which certainly much
 exceeded the comprehension of the vulgar. A
 famous martyrologist calls Gardiner, on account of
 this opinion, " An insensible ass, and one that
 " had no feeling of God's spirit in the matter of

¹⁶ Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.
 Bibliotheca Britannica, article GARDINER.

" justification

“justification”¹⁷. The meanest protestant imagined at that time, that he had a full comprehension of all those mysterious doctrines; and he heartily despised the most learned and knowing person of the ancient religion, who acknowledged his ignorance with regard to them. It is indeed certain, that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of justification, and might venture to foretel its success, in opposition to all the ceremonies, shows, and superstitions of popery. By exalting Christ and his sufferings, and renouncing all claim to independent merit in ourselves, it was calculated to become popular, and coincided with those principles of panegyric and of self-abasement, which generally have place in religion.

C II A P.
XXXIV.
1547.

TONSTAL, bishop of Durham, having, as well as Gardiner, made some opposition to the new regulations, was dismissed the council; but no farther severity was, for the present, exercised against him. He was a man of great moderation, and of the most unexceptionable character in the kingdom.

THE same religious zeal, which engaged Somerset to promote the reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries; where the interests of the protestants were now exposed to the most imminent danger. The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance and after long delays, had at last summoned a general council,

Foreign
affairs.

¹⁷ Fox, vol. ii.

C H A P. which was assembled at Trent, and was employed,
 XXXIV. both in correcting the abuses of the church, and
 1547. in ascertaining her doctrines. The emperor, who
 desired to repress the power of the court of Rome,
 as well as gain over the protestants, promoted
 the former object of the council; the pope who
 found his own greatness so deeply interested,
 desired rather to employ them in the latter. He
 gave instructions to his legates, who presided in
 the council, to protract the debates, and to engage
 the theologians in argument, and altercation, and
 dispute concerning the nice points of faith, can-
 vassed before them: A policy, so easy to be ex-
 ecuted, that the legates soon found it rather neces-
 sary to interpose, in order to appease the animosity
 of the divines, and bring them at last to some
 decision¹⁸. The more difficult task for the legates
 was to moderate or divert the zeal of the council
 for reformation, and to repress the ambition of
 the prelates, who desired to exalt the episcopal
 authority on the ruins of the sovereign pontiff.
 Finding this humor become prevalent, the legates,
 on pretence that the plague had broken out at
 Trent, transferred of a sudden the council to
 Bologna, where, they hoped, it would be more
 under the direction of his holiness.

THE emperor, no less than the pope, had learned
 to make religion subservient to his ambition and
 policy. He was resolved to employ the imputa-
 tion of heresy as a pretence for subduing the

¹⁸ Father Paul, lib. ii.

protestant princes, and oppressing the liberties of Germany; but found it necessary to cover his intentions under deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adversaries. He separated the Palatine and the elector of Brandenburg from the protestant confederacy: He took arms against the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse: By the fortune of war, he made the former prisoner: He employed treachery and prevarication against the latter, and detained him captive, by breaking a safe-conduct which he had granted him. He seemed to have reached the summit of his ambition; and the German princes, who were astonished with his success, were farther discouraged by the intelligence, which they had received, of the death, first of Henry VIII. then of Francis I. their usual resources in every calamity¹⁹.

C H A P.
XXXIV.
1547.

HENRY II. who succeeded to the crown of France, was a prince of vigor and abilities; but less hasty in his resolutions than Francis; and less inflamed with rivalry and animosity against the emperor Charles. Though he sent ambassadors to the princes of the Smalcaldic League, and promised them protection, he was unwilling, in the commencement of his reign, to hurry into a war with so great a power as that of the emperor; and he thought that the alliance of those princes was a sure resource, which he could at any time lay hold of²⁰. He was much governed by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine; and he hearkened to their counsel, in chusing rather

¹⁹ Sleidan.

²⁰ Pere Daniel.

C H A P. to give immediate assistance to Scotland, his ancient
 XXXIV. ally, which, even before the death of Henry VIII.
 1547. had loudly claimed the protection of the French
 monarchy.

Progress of
 the reform-
 ation in
 Scotland.

THE hatred between the two factions, the partisans of the ancient and those of the new religion, became every day more violent in Scotland; and the resolution, which the cardinal primate had taken, to employ the most rigorous punishments against the reformers, brought matters to a quick decision. There was one Wishart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himself with great zeal in preaching against the ancient superstitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were justly terrified with the danger of some fatal revolution in religion. This man was celebrated for the purity of his morals, and for his extensive learning: But these praises cannot be much depended on because, we know, that among the reformers, severity of manners suppli- ed the place of many virtues; and the age was in general so ignorant, that most of the priests in Scotland imagined the New Testament to be a composition of Luther's, and asserted that the Old alone was the word of God²¹. But however the case may have stood with regard to those estimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with the desire of innovation; and he enjoyed those talents, which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for seizing

²¹ See note [A] at the end of the volume.

the attention and affections of the multitude. The C H A P. magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his XXXIV. mission, were alarmed with his progress; and 1547. being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigor, they contented themselves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with dismissing him the bounds of their jurisdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation, that they had dared to reject him, together with the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the ancient prophets, with some imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the west country, where he daily increased the number of his profelytes. Meanwhile, a plague broke out in Dundee; and all men exclaimed, that the town had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven by banishing the pious preacher, and that the pestilence would never cease, till they had made him atonement for their offence against him. No sooner did Wishart hear of this change in their disposition, than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine: But lest he should spread the contagion by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate: The infected stood within; the others without. And the preacher failed not, in such a situation, to take advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, and to enforce his evangelical mission ²².

THE assiduity and success of Wishart became an object of attention to cardinal Beaton; and he resolved, by the punishment of so celebrated a

²² Knox's Hist. of Ref. p. 44. Spotswood.

C H A P.

XXXIV.

1547.

preacher, to strike a terror into all other innovators. He engaged the earl of Bothwel to arrest him; and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promise given by Bothwel to that unhappy man: And being possessed of his prey, he conducted him to St. Andrew's, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for heresy. Arran, the governor, was irresolute in his temper; and the cardinal, though he had gained him over to his party, found, that he would not concur in the condemnation and execution of Wishart. He determined, therefore, without the assistance of the secular arm, to bring that heretic to punishment; and he himself beheld from his window the dismal spectacle. Wishart suffered with the usual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his insulting enemy. He foretold, that, in a few days, he should, in the very same place, lie as low, as now he was exalted aloft, in opposition to true piety and religion ²³.

Assassina-
tion of car-
dinal Bea-
con.

THIS prophecy was probably the immediate cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against the cardinal; and having associated to them Norman Lesly, who was disgusted on account of some private quarrel, they conducted their enterprize with great secrecy and success. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had strongly

²³ Spotswood. Buchanan.

fortified; and though they were not above sixteen persons, they thrust out a hundred tradesmen and fifty servants, whom they seized separately, before any suspicion arose of their intentions; and having shut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpose on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noise which he heard in the castle; and had barricaded the door of his chamber: But finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a promise of life, he opened the door; and reminding them, that he was a priest, he conjured them to spare him. Two of the assassins rushed upon him with drawn swords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more considerate in villany, stopped their career, and bade them reflect, that this sacrifice was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his sword towards Beaton, he called to him, “Repent thee, “thou wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniquities, especially of the murder of Wishart, “that instrument of God for the conversion of “these lands: It is his death, which now cries “vengeance upon thee: We are sent by God to “inflict the deserved punishment. For here, before the Almighty, I protest, that it is neither “hatred of thy person, nor love of thy riches, “nor fear of thy power, which moves me to “seek thy death: But only because thou hast been, “and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to Christ

C H A P.
XXXIV.
1547.

C H A P.
XXXIV.
1547.

“Jesus, and his holy gospel.” Having spoken these words, without giving Beaton time to finish that repentance, to which he exhorted him, he thrust him through the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet²⁴. This murder was executed on the 28th of May 1546. The assassins, being reinforced by their friends to the number of a hundred and forty persons, prepared themselves for the defence of the castle, and sent a messenger to London, craving assistance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of disturbing the government of a rival kingdom; and he promised to take them under his protection.

It was the peculiar misfortune of Scotland, that five short reigns had been successively followed by as many long minorities; and the execution of justice, which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been continually interrupted by the cabals, factions, and animosities of the great.

²⁴ The famous Scotch reformer, John Knox, calls James Melvil, p. 65. a man most gentle and most modest. It is very horrid, but at the same time somewhat amusing, to consider the joy and alacrity and pleasure, which that historian discovers in his narrative of this assassination: And it is remarkable that in the first edition of his work, these words were printed on the margin of the page, *The godly Fact and Words of James Melvil*. But the following editors retrenched them. Knox himself had no hand in the murder of Beaton; but he afterwards joined the assassins, and assisted them in holding out the castle. See Keith's *Hist. of the Ref. of Scotland*, p. 43.

But besides these inveterate and ancient evils, a new source of disorder had arisen, the disputes and contentions of theology, which were sufficient to disturb the most settled government; and the death of the cardinal, who was possessed of abilities and vigor, seemed much to weaken the hands of the administration. But the queen-dowager was a woman of uncommon talents and virtue; and she did as much to support the government, and supply the weakness of Arran, the governor, as could be expected in her situation.

C H A P.

XXXIV.

1547.

THE protector of England, as soon as the state was brought to some composure, made preparations for war with Scotland; and he was determined to execute, if possible, that project, of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been so intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He levied an army of 18,000 men, and equipped a fleet of sixty sail, one half of which were ships of war, the other laden with provisions and ammunition. He gave the command of the fleet to lord Clinton: He himself marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl of Warwic. These hostile measures were covered with a pretence of revenging some depredations committed by the borderers; but besides, that Somerset revived the ancient claim of the superiority of the English crown over that of Scotland, he refused to enter into negociation on any other condition than the marriage of the young queen with Edward.

Conduct of
the war with
Scotland.

C H A P.

XXXIV.

1547.

THE protector, before he opened the campaign, published a manifesto, in which he enforced all the arguments for that measure. He said, that nature seemed originally to have intended this island for one empire; and having cut it off from all communication with foreign states, and guarded it by the ocean, she had pointed out to the inhabitants the road to happiness and to security: That the education and customs of the people concurred with nature; and by giving them the same language, and laws, and manners, had invited them to a thorough union and coalition: That fortune had at last removed all obstacles, and had prepared an expedient, by which they might become one people, without leaving any place for that jealousy either of honor or of interest, to which rival nations are naturally exposed: That the crown of Scotland had devolved on a female: that of England on a male; and happily the two sovereigns, as of a rank, were also of an age, the most suitable to each other: That the hostile dispositions, which prevailed between the nations, and which arose from past injuries, would soon be extinguished, after a long and secure peace had established confidence between them: That the memory of former miseries, which at present inflamed their mutual animosity, would then serve only to make them cherish, with more passion, a state of happiness and tranquillity, so long unknown to their ancestors: That when hostilities had ceased between the kingdoms, the Scottish nobility, who were at

present obliged to remain perpetually in a warlike posture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would soften their minds to a love of domestic order and obedience: That as this situation was desirable to both kingdoms, so particularly to Scotland, which had been exposed to the greatest miseries from intestine and foreign wars, and saw herself every moment in danger of losing her independency, by the efforts of a richer, and more powerful people; That though England had claims of superiority, she was willing to resign every pretension for the sake of future peace, and desired an union, which would be the more secure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal: And that, besides all these motives, positive engagements had been taken for completing this alliance; and the honor and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what her interest and safety so loudly demanded ²⁵.

SOMERSET soon perceived, that these remonstrances would have no influence; and that the queen dowager's attachment to France and to the catholic religion would render ineffectual all negociations for the intended marriage. He found himself, therefore, obliged to try the force of arms, and to constrain the Scots by necessity to submit to a measure, for which they seemed to have entertained the most incurable aversion. He passed the borders at Berwic, and advanced towards Edinburgh, without meeting any resistance

C H A P.

XXXIV.

1547.

2d Sept.

²⁵ Sir John Haywood in Kennet, p. 279. Heylin, p. 42.

C H A P. for some days, except from some small castles,
xxxiv. which he obliged to surrender at discretion. The
1547. protector intended to have punished the governor
and garrison of one of these castles for their temerity in resisting such unequal force: But they eluded his anger by asking only a few hours' respite, till they should prepare themselves for death; after which they found his ears more open to their applications for mercy²⁶.

THE governor of Scotland had summoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double in number to that of the English, had taken post on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Eske, about four miles from Edinburgh. The English came within fight of them at Faside; and after a skirmish between the horse, where the Scots were worsted, and lord Hume dangerously wounded, Somerset prepared himself for a more decisive action. But having taken a view of the Scottish camp with the earl of Warwick, he found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of success. He wrote, therefore, another letter to Arran; and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all the damages which he had committed, provided the Scots would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home, till she reached the age of chusing a husband for herself. So moderate a demand was rejected by the Scots merely on account of

²⁶ Haywood. Patten.

its moderation; and it made them imagine that the protector must either be reduced to great distress or be influenced by fear, that he was now contented to abate so much of his former pretensions. Inflamed also by their priests, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed, that the English were detestable heretics, abhorred of God, and exposed to divine vengeance; and that no success could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit, when they saw the protector change his ground, and move towards the sea; nor did they any longer doubt that he intended to embark his army, and make his escape on board the ships, which at that very time moved into the bay, opposite to him²⁷. Determined therefore to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp: and passing the river Eske, advanced into the plain. They were divided into three bodies: Angus commanded the vanguard; Arran the main body; Huntley the rear: Their cavalry consisted only of light horse, which were placed on their left flank, strengthened by some Irish archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this service.

SOMERSET was much pleased when he saw this movement of the Scottish army; and as the English had usually been superior in pitched battles, he conceived great hopes of success. He ranged his van on the left, farthest from the sea; and ordered them to remain on the high grounds

²⁷ Hollingshed, p. 985.

C H A P. on which he placed them, till the enemy should
 xxxiv. approach : He placed his main battle and his
 1547. rear towards the right ; and beyond the van he
 The battle posted lord Grey at the head of the men at
 of Pinkey. arms, and ordered him to take the Scottish van
 in flank, but not till they should be engaged in
 close fight with the van of the English.

WHILE the Scots were advancing on the plain, they were galled with the artillery from the English ships : The eldest son of lord Graham was killed : The Irish archers were thrown into disorder ; and even the other troops began to stagger : When lord Grey, perceiving their situation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and at the head of his heavy-armed horse made an attack on the Scottish infantry, in hopes of gaining all the honor of the victory. On advancing, he found a slough and ditch in his way ; and behind were ranged the enemy armed with spears, and the field, on which they stood, was fallow ground, broken with ridges, which lay across their front, and disordered the movements of the English cavalry. From all these accidents, the shock of this body of horse was feeble and irregular ; and as they were received on the points of the Scottish spears, which were longer than the lances of the English horsemen, they were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and discomfited. Grey himself was dangerously wounded : Lord Edward Seymour, son of the protector, had his horse killed under him : The standard was near being taken : And had the Scots possessed any good body of cavalry,

who could have pursued the advantage, the whole English army had been exposed to great danger²⁸.

C H A P.
XXXIV.

1547.

THE protector mean-while, assisted by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Ralph Vane, employed himself with diligence and success, in rallying the cavalry. Warwic showed great presence of mind in maintaining the ranks of the foot, on which the horse had recoiled: He made Sir Peter Meutas advance, captain of the foot arquebusiers, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of some Italian and Spanish arquebusiers on horseback; and ordered them to ply the Scottish infantry with their shot. They marched to the flough, and discharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy: The ships galled them from the flank: The artillery, planted on a height, infested them from the front: The English archers poured in a shower of arrows upon them: And the vanguard, descending from the hill, advanced, leisurely and in good order, towards them. Dismayed with all these circumstances, the Scottish van began to retreat: The retreat soon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Irish archers. The panic of the van communicated itself to the main body, and passing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a scene of confusion, terror, flight, and consternation. The English army perceived from the heights the condition of the Scots, and began the pursuit with loud shouts and

²⁸ Patten. Hollingshed, p. 986.

C H A P. acclamations, which added still more to the dismay
 XXXIV. of the vanquished. The horse in particular, eager
 1547. to revenge the affront, which they had received
 in the beginning of the day, did the most bloody
 execution on the flying enemy; and from the
 field of battle to Edinburgh, for the space of
 five miles, the whole ground was strowed with
 dead bodies. The priests above all, and the
 monks received no quarter; and the English made
 sport of slaughtering men, who, from their
 extreme zeal and animosity, had engaged in an
 enterprize so ill besitting their profession. Few
 victories have been more decisive, or gained
 with smaller loss to the conquerors. There fell
 not two hundred of the English; and according
 to the most moderate computation, there perished
 above ten thousand of the Scots. About fifteen
 hundred were taken prisoners. This action was
 called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's
 feat of that name in the neighbourhood.

THE queen-dowager and Arran fled to Stirling,
 and were scarcely able to collect such a body of
 forces as could check the incursions of small parties
 of the English. About the same time, the earl
 of Lenox and lord Wharton entered the West
 Marches, at the head of five thousand men, and
 after taking and plundering Annan, they spread
 devastation over all the neighbouring counties²⁹.
 Had Somerset prosecuted his advantages, he might
 have imposed what terms he pleased on the Scottish

²⁹ Hollingshed, p. 992.

nation: But he was impatient to return to England, where, he heard, some counsellors, and even his own brother, the admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority. Having taken the castles of Hume, Dunblaw, Eymouth, Fastcastle, Roxborough, and some other small places, and having received the submission of some counties on the borders, he retired from Scotland. The fleet, besides destroying all the shipping along the coast, took Broughty in the Frith of Tay; and having fortified it, they there left a garrison. Arran desired leave to send commissioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerset, having appointed Berwick for the place of conference, left Warwick with full powers to negotiate: But no commissioners from Scotland ever appeared. The overture of the Scots was an artifice, to gain time, till succours should arrive from France.

THE protector, on his arrival in England, summoned a parliament: And being somewhat elated with his success against the Scots, he procured from his nephew a patent, appointing him to sit on the throne, upon a stool or bench at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the same honors and privileges, that had usually been possessed by any prince of the blood, or uncle of the kings of England. In this patent, the king employed his dispensing power, by setting aside the statute of precedency, enacted during the former reign³⁰. But if Somerset gave offence by

C H A P.
XXXIV.
1547.

4th Nov.

A parlia-
ment.

³⁰ Rymer, vol. xv. p. 164.

C H A P. assuming too much state, he deserves great praise
 XXXIV. on account of the laws passed this session, by
 1547. which the rigor of former statutes was much mitigated, and some security given to the freedom of the constitution. All laws were repealed, which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the twenty-first of Edward III.³¹; all laws enacted during the late reign, extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the six articles. None were to be accused for words, but within a month after they were spoken. By these repeals several of the most rigorous laws, that ever had passed in England, were annulled; and some dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Heresy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning. Only, there remained no precise standard, by which that crime could be defined or determined: A circumstance, which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public security, according to the disposition of the judges.

A REPEAL also passed of that law, the destruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a statute³². That other law likewise was mitigated, by which the king was empowered to annul every statute passed before the four and twentieth year of his

³¹ 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

³² 1 Edw. VI. c. 2.

age : He could prevent their future execution; but could not recal any past effects, which had ensued from them³³.

C H A P.
XXXIV.

1547.

It was also enacted, that all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the pope's should, for the first offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during pleasure; for the second offence, should incur the penalty of a *præmunire*; and for the third be attainted of treason. But if any, after the first of March ensuing, endeavoured, by writing, printing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the king of his estate or titles, particularly of his supremacy, or to confer them on any other, he was to be adjudged guilty of treason. If any of the heirs of the crown should usurp upon another, or endeavour to break the order of succession, it was declared treason in them, their aiders and abettors. These were the most considerable acts passed during this session. The members in general discovered a very passive disposition with regard to religion: Some few appeared zealous for the reformation: Others secretly harboured a strong propensity to the catholic faith: But the greater part appeared willing to take any impression, which they should receive from interest, authority, or the reigning fashion³⁴.

THE convocation met at the same time with the parliament; and as it was found, that their debates were at first cramped by the rigorous

³³ 1 Edw. VI. c. 2.

³⁴ Heylin, p. 48.

C H A P. statute of the six articles, the king granted them
 XXXIV. a dispensation from that law, before it was repealed by parliament³⁵. The lower house of convocation applied to have liberty of sitting with the commons in parliament; or if this privilege were refused them, which they claimed as their ancient right, they desired, that no law, regarding religion, might pass in parliament without their consent and approbation. But the principles, which now prevailed, were more favorable to the civil than to the ecclesiastical power; and this demand of the convocation was rejected.

1548.

Farther progress of the reformation.

THE protector had assented to the repeal of that law, which gave to the king's proclamations the authority of statutes; but he did not intend to renounce that arbitrary or discretionary exercise of power, in issuing proclamations, which had ever been assumed by the crown, and which it is difficult to distinguish exactly from a full legislative power. He even continued to exert this authority in some particulars, which were then regarded as the most momentous. Orders were issued by council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas day, ashes on Ash-wednesday, palms on Palm-sunday³⁶. These were ancient religious practices, now termed superstitions; though it is fortunate for mankind, when superstition happens to take a direction so

³⁵ Antiq. Britan. p. 339. ³⁶ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 59.
 Collier, vol. ii. 241. Heylin, p. 55.

innocent and inoffensive. The severe disposition, which naturally attends all reformers, prompted likewise the council to abolish some gay and showy ceremonies, which belonged to the ancient religion³⁷.

C H A P.
XXXIV.
1548.

AN order was also issued by council for the removal of all images from the churches: An innovation which was much desired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a total change of the established religion³⁸. An attempt had been made to separate the use of images from their abuse, the reverence from the worship of them; but the execution of this design was found, upon trial, very difficult, if not wholly impracticable.

As private masses were abolished by law, it became necessary to compose a new communion-service; and the council went so far, in the preface which they prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confession wholly indifferent³⁹. This was a prelude to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their spiritual guides an entire ascendant over them. And it may justly be said, that, though the priest's absolution, which attends confession, serves somewhat to ease weak minds from the immediate

³⁷ Burnet, vol. ii. ³⁸ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 60. Collier, vol. ii. p. 241. Heylin, p. 55. ³⁹ Burnet, vol. ii.

U H A P. agonies of superstitious terror, it operates only
XXXIV. by enforcing superstition itself, and thereby
1548. preparing the mind for a more violent relapse
into the same disorders.

THE people were at that time extremely distracted, by the opposite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally unable to judge of the reasons advanced on either side, and naturally regarded every thing which they heard at church, as of equal authority, a great confusion and fluctuation resulted from this uncertainty. The council had first endeavoured to remedy the inconvenience, by laying some restraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they imposed a total silence on the preachers, and thereby put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit⁴⁰. By the nature of things, this restraint could only be temporary. For in proportion as the ceremonies of public worship, its shows and exterior observances, were retrenched by the reformers, the people were inclined to contract a stronger attachment to sermons, whence alone they received any occupation or amusement. The ancient religion, by giving its votaries something to do, freed them from the trouble of thinking: Sermons were delivered only in the principal churches, and at some particular fasts and festivals: And the practice of haranguing the populace, which, if abused, is so powerful an incitement to faction

⁴⁰ Fuller, Heylin, Burnet.

and sedition, had much less scope and influence during those ages. C H A P.

XXXIV.

THE greater progress was made towards a reformation in England, the farther did the protector find himself from all prospect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averse to all alliance with a nation, which had so far departed from all ancient principles. Somerset, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be strongly garrisoned and fortified, by lord Grey: He also erected some fortifications at Lauder: And he hoped, that these two places, together with Broughty and some smaller fortresses, which were in the hands of the English: would serve as a curb on Scotland; and would give him access into the heart of the country. 1548.
Affairs of
Scotland.

ARRAN, being disappointed in some attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the succours expected from France, for the recovery of these places; and they arrived at last in the Frith, to the number of six thousand men; half of them Germans. They were commanded by Dessé, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, and count Rhingrave. The Scots were at that time so sunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred English horse were able to ravage the whole country without resistance; and make inroads to the gates of the capital²². But on the

²² Beagué, hist. of the Campaigns 1548 and 1549. p. 6.

C H A P. appearance of the French succours, they collected
XXXIV. more courage; and having joined Desele with a
1548. considerable reinforcement, they laid siege to
Haddington⁴². This was an undertaking for
which they were by themselves totally unfit; and
even with the assistance of the French, they
placed their chief hopes of success in starving the
garrison. After some vain attempts to take the
place by a regular siege, the blockade was formed,
and the garrison was repulsed with loss in several
salles which they made upon the besiegers.

THE hostile attempts, which the late king and
the protector had made against Scotland, not
being steady, regular, nor pushed to the last
extremity, had served only to irritate the nation,
and to inspire them with the strongest aversion
to that union, which was courted in so violent
a manner. Even those who were inclined to the
English alliance, were displeased to have it imposed
on them by force of arms; and the earl of Huntley
in particular, said pleasantly, that he disliked not
the match, but he hated the manner of wooing⁴³.
The queen-dowager, finding these sentiments to
prevail, called a parliament, in an abbey near
Haddington; and it was there proposed, that the
young queen, for her greater security, should be
sent to France, and be committed to the custody
of that ancient ally. Some objected, that this
measure was desperate, allowed no resource in
case of miscarriage, exposed the Scots to be

⁴² Hollingshed, p. 993. ⁴³ Heylin, p. 46. Patten.

subjected by foreigners, involved them in perpetual war with England, and left them no expedient, by which they could conciliate the friendship of that powerful nation. It was answered, on the other hand, that the queen's presence was the very cause of war with England; that that nation would desist, when they found, that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by so high a mark of confidence, would take their sovereign under his protection, and use his utmost efforts to defend the kingdom. These arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully distributed among the nobles. The governor had a pension conferred on him of twelve thousand livres a year, received the title of duke of Chatelrault, and obtained for his son the command of a hundred men at arms⁴⁴. And as the clergy dreaded the consequences of the English alliance, they seconded this measure with all the zeal and industry, which either principle or interest could inspire. It was accordingly determined to send the queen to France; and what was understood to be the necessary consequence, to marry her to the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French gallies lying in the Frith of Forth, set sail as if he intended to return home; but when he reached the open sea, he turned northwards, passed by the Orkneys, and

C H A P.

XXXIV.

1548.

Young
queen of
Scots sent
into France.

⁴⁴ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83. Buchanan, lib. xv. Keith, p. 55. Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15.

C H A P. came in on the west coast at Dunbarton: An
XXXIV. extraordinary voyage for ships of that fabric ⁴⁵.

1548.

The young queen was there committed to him; and being attended by the lords Ereskine and Livingstone, she put to sea, and after meeting with some tempestuous weather, arrived safely at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after she was betrothed to the dauphin.

SOMERSET, pressed by many difficulties at home, and despairing of success in his enterprise against Scotland, was desirous of composing the differences with that kingdom, and he offered the Scots a ten years' truce; but as they insisted on his restoring all the places which he had taken, the proposal came to nothing. The Scots recovered the fortresses of Hume and Fast-castle by surprise, and put the garrisons to the sword: They repulsed, with loss, the English, who, under the command of lord Seymour, made a descent, first in Fife, then at Montrose: In the former action, James Stuart, natural brother to the queen, acquired honor; in the latter, Areskine of Dun. An attempt was made by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer, at the head of a considerable body, to throw relief into Haddington; but these troops, falling into an ambuscade, were almost wholly cut in pieces ⁴⁶. And though a small body of two hundred men escaped all the vigilance of the French, and arrived safely in Haddington, with

⁴⁵ Thuanus, liv. v. c. 15.
Hollingshed, p. 994.

⁴⁶ Stowe, p. 595.

some ammunition and provisions, the garrison C H A P.
XXXIV.
1548.
was reduced to such difficulties, that the protector found it necessary to provide more effectually for their relief. He raised an army of eighteen thousand men, and adding three thousand Germans, who, on the dissolution of the protestant alliance, had offered their service to England, he gave the command of the whole to the earl of Shrewsbury⁴⁷. D'Essé raised the blockade on the approach of the English; and with great difficulty made good his retreat to Edinburgh, where he posted himself advantageously. Shrewsbury, who had lost the opportunity of attacking him on his march, durst not give him battle in his present situation; and contenting himself with the advantage already gained, of supplying Haddington, he retired into England.

THOUGH the protection of France was of great consequence to the Scots, in supporting them against the invasions of England, they reaped still more benefit from the distractions and divisions, which had crept into the councils of this latter kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and admiral, not content with the high stations Cabals of
lord Sey-
mour. which they severally enjoyed, and the great eminence to which they had risen, had entertained the most violent jealousy of each other: and they divided the whole court and kingdom, by their opposite cabals and pretensions. Lord Seymour was a man of insatiable ambition; arrogant,

⁴⁷ Hayward, p. 291.

C H A P. assuming, implacable; and though esteemed of
 XXXIV. superior capacity to the protector, he possessed
 1548. not to the same degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and address; he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him immediately upon the demise of the late king: Infomuch that, had she soon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which husband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance supported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the dutchess of Somerset, who, uneasy that the younger brother's wife should have the precedence, employed all her credit with her husband, which was too great, first to create, then to widen, the breach between the two brothers⁴⁸.

THE first symptoms of this misunderstanding appeared when the protector commanded the army in Scotland. Secretary Paget, a man devoted to Somerset, remarked, that Seymour was forming separate intrigues among the counsellors; was corrupting, by presents, the king's servants; and even endeavouring, by improper indulgences and liberalities, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget represented to him the danger of this conduct; desired him to reflect on the numerous enemies, whom the sudden elevation

⁴⁸ Hayward, p. 301. Heylin, p. 72. Camden. Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 5. Haynes, p. 69.

of their family had created; and warned him that any dissension between him and the protector would be greedily laid hold of, to effect the ruin of both. Finding his remonstrances neglected, he conveyed intelligence of the danger to Somerset, and engaged him to leave the enterprise upon Scotland unfinished, in order to guard against the attempts of his domestic enemies. In the ensuing parliament, the admiral's projects appeared still more dangerous to public tranquillity; and as he had acquired many partisans, he made a direct attack upon his brother's authority. He represented to his friends, that formerly, during a minority, the office of protector of the kingdom had been kept separate from that of governor of the king's person; and that the present union of these two important trusts conferred on Somerset an authority, which could not safely be lodged in any subject⁴⁹. The young king was even prevailed on to write a letter to the parliament, desiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and that nobleman had formed a party in the two houses, by which he hoped to effect his purpose. The design was discovered before its execution; and some common friends were sent to remonstrate with him, but had so little influence, that he threw out many menacing expressions, and rashly threatened, that, if he were thwarted in his attempt, he would make this parliament the blackest that ever sat in England⁵⁰. The

C H A P.

XXXIV.

1548.

⁴⁹ Haynes, p. 82. 90.⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 75.

C H A P. council sent for him, to answer for his conduct;
 XXXIV. but he refused to attend : They then began to
 1548. threaten in their turn, and informed him, that
 the king's letter, instead of availing him any thing
 to the execution of his views, would be imputed
 to him as a criminal enterprise, and be construed
 as a design to disturb the government, by
 forming a separate interest with a child and minor.
 They even let fall some menaces of sending him
 to the Tower for his temerity; and the admiral,
 finding himself prevented in his design, was
 obliged to submit, and to desire a reconciliation
 with his brother.

THE mild and moderate temper of Somerset
 made him willing to forget these enterprises of
 the admiral; but the ambition of that turbulent
 spirit could not be so easily appeased. His spouse,
 the queen-dowager, died in childbed; but so far
 from regarding this event as a check to his aspir-
 ing views, he founded on it the scheme of a
 more extraordinary elevation. He made his ad-
 dresses to the lady Elizabeth, then in the sixteenth
 year of her age; and that princess, whom even
 the hurry of business, and the pursuits of ambition,
 could not, in her more advanced years, disengage
 entirely from the tender passions, seems to have
 listened to the insinuations of a man, who pos-
 sessed every talent proper to captivate the affec-
 tions of the fair². But as Henry VIII. had ex-
 cluded his daughters from all hopes of succession,

² Haynes, p. 95. 96. 102. 108.

if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain; it was concluded that he meant to effect his purpose by expedients still more rash and more criminal. All the other measures of the admiral tended to confirm this suspicion. He continued to attack, by presents, the fidelity of those who had more immediate access to the king's person: He endeavoured to seduce the young prince into his interests: He found means of holding a private correspondence with him: He openly decried his brother's administration; and asserted, that, by inlisting Germans, and other foreigners, he intended to form a mercenary army, which might endanger the king's authority, and the liberty of the people: By promises and persuasion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had extended his interest all over England: He neglected not even the most popular persons of inferior rank; and had computed, that he could, on occasion, muster an army of 10,000 men, composed of his servants, tenants, and retainers⁵²: He had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests Sir John Sharington, a corrupt man, master of the mint at Bristol, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting. Somerset was well apprized of all these alarming circumstances, and endeavoured, by the most friendly expedients, by entreaty, reason, and even by heaping new favors upon the admiral, to make him desist from his dangerous counsels: But finding all endeavours

C H A P.

XXXIV.

1548.

⁵² Haynes, p. 105, 106.

C H A P ineffectual, he began to think of more severe
 XXXIV. remedies. The earl of Warwick was an ill in-
 1548. strument between the brothers; and had formed
 the design, by inflaming the quarrel, to raise his
 own fortune on the ruins of both.

Dudley, earl
 of Warwic.

DUDLEY, earl of Warwic, was the son of that
 Dudley, minister to Henry VII. who, having,
 by rapine, extortion, and perversion of law, in-
 curred the hatred of the public, had been sacrificed
 to popular animosity, in the beginning of the
 subsequent reign. The late king, sensible of the
 iniquity, at least illegality, of the sentence, had
 afterwards restored young Dudley's blood by act
 of parliament; and finding him endowed with
 abilities, industry, and activity, he had intrusted
 him with many important commands, and had
 ever found him successful in his undertakings. He
 raised him to the dignity of viscount Lisle, con-
 ferred on him the office of admiral, and gave
 him by his will a place among his executors.
 Dudley made still farther progress during the
 minority; and having obtained the title of earl
 of Warwic, and undermined the credit of South-
 ampton, he bore the chief rank among the
 protector's counsellors. The victory, gained at
 Pinkey, was much ascribed to his courage and
 conduct; and he was universally regarded as a
 man equally endowed with the talents of peace
 and of war. But all these virtues were obscured
 by still greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an
 insatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a con-
 tempt of justice: And as he found, that lord
 Seymour

Seymour, whose abilities and enterprising spirit he chiefly dreaded, was involving himself in ruin by his rash counsels, he was determined to push him on the precipice; and thereby remove the chief obstacle to his own projected greatness.

WHEN Somerset found, that the public peace was endangered by his brother's seditious, not to say rebellious, schemes, he was the more easily persuaded by Warwick to employ the extent of royal authority against him; and after depriving him of the office of admiral, he signed a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his accomplices were also taken into custody, and three privy counsellors, being sent to examine them, made a report, that they had met with very full and important discoveries. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and showed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to desist from the prosecution, if Seymour would promise him a cordial reconciliation; and renouncing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But as Seymour made no other answer to these friendly offers than menaces and defiance, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles⁵³; and the whole to be laid before the privy council. It is pretended, that every particular was so incontestibly proved, both by witnesses and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper

C H A P.
XXXIV.
1548.

⁵³ Burnet, vol. ii. Coll. 31. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.
VOL. VI.

C H A P. to go in a body to the Tower, in order more
XXXIV. fully to examine the prisoner. He was not daunted
1548. by the appearance: He boldly demanded a fair
trial; required to be confronted by the witnesses;
desired that the charge might be left with him,
in order to be considered; and refused to answer
any interrogatories, by which he might accuse
himself.

It is apparent, that, notwithstanding what is pretended, there must have been some deficiency in the evidence against Seymour, when such demands, founded on the plainest principles of law and equity, were absolutely rejected. We shall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and scarcely capable of any proof; many of them, if true, susceptible of a more favorable interpretation; and that, though, on the whole, Seymour appears to have been a dangerous subject, he had not advanced far in those treasonable projects imputed to him. The chief part of his actual guilt seems to have consisted in some unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which pirates were protected, and illegal impositions laid upon the merchants.

BUT the administration had, at that time, an easy instrument of vengeance, to wit, the Parliament; and needed not to give themselves any concern with regard either to the guilt of the persons whom they prosecuted, or the evidence which could be produced against them. A session

of parliament being held, it was resolved to proceed against Seymour by bill of attainder; and the young king being induced, after much solicitation, to give his consent to it, a considerable weight was put on his approbation. The matter was first laid before the upper-house; and several peers, rising up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct and his criminal words or actions. These narratives were received as undoubted evidence; and though the prisoner had formerly engaged many friends and partisans among the nobility, no one had either the courage or equity to move, that he might be heard in his defence, that the testimony against him should be delivered in a legal manner, and that he should be confronted with the witnesses. A little more scruple was made in the house of commons: There were even some members who objected against the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder, passed in absence; and insisted, that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. But when a message was sent by the king, enjoining the house to proceed; and offering that the same narratives should be laid before them which had satisfied the peers, they were easily prevailed on to acquiesce⁵⁴. The bill passed in a full house. Near four hundred voted for it; not above nine or ten against it⁵⁵. The sentence was soon after executed, and the prisoner

C H A P.
XXXIV.A parliament.
4th Nov.1549.
Attainder of
lord Seymour.

March 20.

⁵⁴ 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.⁵⁵ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 99.

C H A P. was beheaded on Tower-hill. The warrant was
XXXIV. signed by Somerfet, who was exposed to much
 1549. blame, on account of the violence of these
 His execu- proceedings. The attempts of the admiral seem
 tion. chiefly to have been levelled against his brother's
 usurped authority; and though his ambitious,
 enterprising character, encouraged by a marriage
 with the lady Elizabeth, might have endangered
 the public tranquillity, the prudence of foreseeing
 evils at such a distance, was deemed too great; and
 the remedy was plainly illegal. It could only be
 said, that this bill of attainder was somewhat
 more tolerable than the preceding ones, to which
 the nation had been enured. For here, at least,
 some shadow of evidence was produced.

Ecclesiasti-
 cal affairs.

ALL the considerable business transacted this
 session besides the attainder of lord Seymour,
 regarded ecclesiastical affairs; which were now
 the chief object of attention throughout the nation.
 A committee of bishops and divines had been
 appointed by the council, to compose a liturgy;
 and they had executed the work committed to
 them. They proceeded with moderation in this
 delicate undertaking: They retained as much of
 the ancient mass as the principles of the reformers
 would permit: They indulged nothing to the spirit
 of contradiction, which so naturally takes place in all
 great innovations: And they flattered themselves,
 that they had established a service, in which
 every denomination of Christians might, without
 scruple, concur. The mass had always been
 celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have

been deemed absurd, had it not been found C H A P.
 useful to the clergy, by impressing the people XXXIV.
 with an idea of some mysterious unknown virtue 1549.
 in those rites, and by checking all their preten-
 sions to be familiarly acquainted with their religion.
 But as the reformers pretended, in some few
 particulars, to encourage private judgment in the
 laity, the translation of the liturgy, as well as
 of the Scriptures, into the vulgar tongue, seemed
 more conformable to the genius of their sect;
 and this innovation, with the retrenching of
 prayers to saints, and of some superstitious cere-
 monies, was the chief difference between the old
 mass and the new liturgy. The parliament
 established this form of worship in all the churches,
 and ordained a uniformity to be observed in all
 the rites and ceremonies¹⁶.

THERE was another material act, which passed
 this session. The former canons had established
 the celibacy of the clergy; and though this
 practice is usually ascribed to the policy of the
 court of Rome, who thought, that the
 ecclesiastics would be more devoted to their
 spiritual head, and less dependent on the civil
 magistrate, when freed from the powerful tie of
 wives and children; yet was this institution much
 forwarded by the principles of superstition inherent
 in human nature. These principles had rendered
 the panegyrics on an inviolate chastity so frequent
 among the ancient fathers, long before the esta-

¹⁶ 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1.

C H A P. blishment of celibacy. And even this parliament,
 XXXIV. though they enacted a law, permitting the marriage
 1549. of priests, yet confess in the preamble, "that it
 "were better for priests and the ministers of the
 "church to live chaste and without marriage,
 "and it were much to be wished they would of
 "themselves abstain." The inconveniencies,
 which had arisen from the compelling of chastity
 and the prohibiting of marriage, are the reasons
 assigned for indulging a liberty in this particular⁵⁷.
 The ideas of penance also were so much retained
 in other particulars, that an act of parliament
 passed, forbidding the use of flesh-meat during
 Lent and other times of abstinence⁵⁸.

THE principal tenets and practices of the catholic religion were now abolished, and the reformation, such as it is enjoyed at present, was almost entirely completed in England. But the doctrine of the real presence, though tacitly condemned by the new communion-service and by the abolition of many ancient rites, still retained some hold on the minds of men; and it was the last doctrine of popery, that was wholly abandoned by the people⁵⁹. The great attachment of the late king to that tenet might, in part, be the ground of this obstinacy; but the chief cause was really the extreme absurdity of the principle itself, and the profound veneration, which of course it impressed

⁵⁷ 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 21.

⁵⁸ 2 & 3 Ed. VI. cap. 19.

See note [B] at the end of the volume.

⁵⁹ Burnet, vol. ii. cap. 104.

on the imagination. The priests likewise were much inclined to favor an opinion, which attributed to them so miraculous a power, and the people, who believed, that they participated of the very body and blood of their Saviour, were loth to renounce so extraordinary, and as they imagined, so salutary a privilege. The general attachment to this dogma was so violent, that the Lutherans, notwithstanding their separation from Rome, had thought proper, under another name, still to retain it: And the catholic preachers, in England, when restrained in all others particulars, could not forbear, on every occasion, inculcating that tenet. Bonner, for this offence among others, had been tried by the council, had been deprived of his see, and had been committed to custody. Gardiner also, who had recovered his liberty, appeared a-new refractory to the authority, which established the late innovations; and he seemed willing to countenance that opinion, much favored by all the English catholics, that the king was indeed supreme head of the church, but not the council, during a minority. Having declined to give full satisfaction on this head, he was sent to the Tower, and threatened with farther effects of the council's displeasure.

THESE severities, being exercised on men, possessed of office and authority, seemed, in that age, a necessary policy, in order to enforce a uniformity in public worship and discipline: But there were other instances of persecution, derived from no origin but the bigotry of theologians; a malady,

C H A P

XXXIV.

1749.

which seems almost incurable. Though the protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions, deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new system as so certain, that they would suffer no contradiction with regard to it; and they were ready to burn in the same flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ from them. A commission by act of council was granted to the primate and some others, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the book of common prayer^o. The commissioners were enjoined to reclaim them, if possible; to impose penance on them; and to give them absolution: Or if these criminals were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular arm: And in the execution of this charge, they were not bound to observe the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were dispensed with; and if any statutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were overruled and abrogated by the council. Some tradesmen in London were brought before these commissioners, and were accused of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not sin, and that, though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure, and were dismissed. But there was a woman accused of

^o Burnet, vol. ii. p. 3. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 181.

heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was so pertinacious, that the commissioners could make no impression upon her. Her doctrine was, "That Christ was not truly incarnate of the virgin, whose flesh, being the outward man, was sinfully begotten and born in sin; and consequently, he could take none of it: But the word, by the consent of the inward man of the virgin, was made flesh⁶¹." This opinion, it would seem, is not orthodox; and there was a necessity for delivering the woman to the flames for maintaining it. But the young king, though in such tender years, had more sense than all his counsellors and preceptors; and he long refused to sign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to persuade him to compliance; and he said, that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those which were in direct contradiction on the Apostles creed: These latter were impieties against God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repress; in like manner, as inferior magistrates were bound to punish offences against the king's person. Edward, overcome by importunity, at last submitted, though with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer, that, if any wrong were done, the guilt should lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her obstinate against all his arguments,

C H A P.

XXXIV.

1549.

⁶¹ Burnet, vol. ii. coll. 35. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.

C H A P.
XXXIV.
1549.

at last committed her to the flames. Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of the heresy, which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with so much satisfaction, that he hugged and caressed the faggots, that were consuming him; a species of frenzy, of which there is more than one instance among the martyrs of that age ⁶².

THESE rigorous methods of proceeding soon brought the whole nation to a conformity, seeming or real, with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the mass, and refused to admit the established modes of worship. When pressed and menaced on this head, she applied to the emperor; who, using his interest with Sir Philip Hobby, the English ambassador, procured her a temporary connivance from the council ⁶³.

⁶² Burnet, vol. ii p. 112. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.

⁶³ Heylin, p. 102.

C H A P. XXXV.

Discontents of the people—Insurrections—Conduct of the war with Scotland—with France—Factions in the council—Conspiracy against Somerset—Somerset resigns the protectorship—A parliament—Peace with France and Scotland—Boulogne surrendered—Persecution of Gardiner—Warwic created duke of Northumberland—His ambition—Trial of Somerset—His execution—A Parliament—A new parliament—Succession changed—The king's sickness—and death.

THERE is no abuse so great, in civil society, as not to be attended with a variety of beneficial consequences; and in the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly, while the benefit, resulting from the change, is the slow effect of time, and is seldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Scarce any institution can be imagined less favorable, in the main, to the interests of mankind than that of monks and friars; yet was it followed by many good effects, which, having ceased by the suppression of monasteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks, always residing in their convents, in the centre of their estates, spent their money in the provinces and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for commodities, were a sure resource to the poor

C H A P.

XXXV.

1549.

Discontents
of the people.

C H A P. and indigent; and though their hospitality and
 XXXV. charity gave but too much encouragement to
 1549. idleness, and prevented the increase of public
 riches, yet did it provide, to many, a relief
 from the extreme pressures of want and necessity.
 It is also observable, that, as the friars were
 limited, by the rules of their institution, to a
 certain mode of living, they had not equal motives
 for extortion with other men; and they were
 acknowledged to have been in England, as they
 still are in Roman catholic countries, the best and
 most indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors
 were permitted to give leases at an under-value,
 and to receive, in return, a large present from
 the tenant; in the same manner as is still practised
 by the bishops and colleges. But when the abbey-
 lands were distributed among the principal nobility
 and courtiers, they fell under a different manage-
 ment: The rents of farms were raised, while the
 tenants found not the same facility in disposing
 of the produce; the money was often spent
 in the capital; and the farmers, living at a distance,
 were exposed to oppression from their new masters,
 or to the still greater rapacity of the stewards.

THESE grievances of the common people were
 at that time heightened by other causes. The
 arts of manufacture were much more advanced
 in other European countries than in England;
 and even in England these arts had made greater
 progress than the knowledge of agriculture; a
 profession, which, of all mechanical employments,
 requires the most reflection and experience. A

great demand arose for wool both abroad and at home : Pasturage was found more profitable than unskilful tillage : Whole estates were laid waste by enclosures : The tenants regarded as a useless burden, were expelled their habitations : Even the cottagers, deprived of the commons, on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery : And a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom¹. This grievance was now of an old date ; and Sir Thomas More, alluding to it, observes in his Utopia, that a sheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

THE general increase also of gold and silver in Europe, after the discovery of the West-Indies, had a tendency to inflame these complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could easily be transported thither ; but in England, the labor of men, who could not so easily change their habitation, still remained nearly at the ancient rates ; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a subsistence by their industry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to procure a maintenance ; and though this increase of industry was at last the effect of the present situation, and an effect beneficial to

C H A P.

XXXV.

1542

¹ Strype, vol. ii. Repository Q.

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C H A P.

XXXV.

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THESE grievances of the common people were
 at that time heightened by other causes. The
 arts of manufacture were much more advanced
 in other European countries than in England;
 and even in England these arts had made greater
 progress than the knowledge of agriculture; a
 profession, which, of all mechanical employments,
 requires the most reflection and experience. A

great demand arose for wool both abroad and at home : Pasturage was found more profitable than unskillful tillage : Whole estates were laid waste by enclosures : The tenants regarded as a useless burden, were expelled their habitations : Even the cottagers, deprived of the commons, on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery : And a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom¹. This grievance was now of an old date ; and Sir Thomas More, alluding to it, observes in his Utopia, that a sheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

C H A P.

XXXV.

1542

THE general increase also of gold and silver in Europe, after the discovery of the West-Indies, had a tendency to inflame these complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could easily be transported thither ; but in England, the labor of men, who could not so easily change their habitation, still remained nearly at the ancient rates ; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a subsistence by their industry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to procure a maintenance ; and though this increase of industry was at last the effect of the present situation, and an effect beneficial to

¹ Strype, vol. ii. Repository Q.

C H A P. and indigent; and though their hospitality and
 XXXV. charity gave but too much encouragement to
 1549. idleness, and prevented the increase of public
 riches, yet did it provide, to many, a relief
 from the extreme pressures of want and necessity.
 It is also observable, that, as the friars were
 limited, by the rules of their institution, to a
 certain mode of living, they had not equal motives
 for extortion with other men; and they were
 acknowledged to have been in England, as they
 still are in Roman catholic countries, the best and
 most indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors
 were permitted to give leases at an under-value,
 and to receive, in return, a large present from
 the tenant; in the same manner as is still practised
 by the bishops and colleges. But when the abbey-
 lands were distributed among the principal nobility
 and courtiers, they fell under a different manage-
 ment: The rents of farms were raised, while the
 tenants found not the same facility in disposing
 of the produce; the money was often spent
 in the capital; and the farmers, living at a distance,
 were exposed to oppression from their new masters,
 or to the still greater rapacity of the stewards.

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 at that time heightened by other causes. The
 arts of manufacture were much more advanced
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C H A P. society, yet was it difficult for the people to
XXXV. shake off their former habits of indolence; and
1549. nothing but necessity could compel them to such
an exertion of their faculties.

It must also be remarked, that the profusion of Henry VIII. had reduced him, notwithstanding his rapacity, to such difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a present necessity, by the pernicious expedient of debasing the coin; and the wars, in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry still farther the same abuse. The usual consequences ensued: The good specie was hoarded or exported; base metal was coined at home or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not purchase commodities at the usual rates; a universal diffidence and stagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

THE protector who loved popularity, and pitied the condition of the people, encouraged these complaints by his endeavours to redress them. He appointed a commission for making inquiry concerning enclosures; and issued a proclamation, ordering all late enclosures to be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, meeting with such countenance from government, began to rise in several places, and to commit disorders, but were quieted by remonstrances and persuasion. In order to give them greater satisfaction, Somerset appointed new

commissioners, whom he sent every where, with an unlimited power to hear and determine all causes about enclosures, highways, and cottages². As this commission was disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they stigmatized it as arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for immediate redress, could no longer contain their fury, but sought for a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once in several parts of England, as if an universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by Sir William Herbert: Those in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Gloucester, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field: Others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler expedients; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences.

C H A P.
XXXV.
1549.

Insurrec-
tions.

THE commonalty in Devonshire began with the usual complaints against enclosures and against oppressions from the gentry; but the parish priest of Sampford-Courtenay had the address to give their discontent a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of the subject, in the present emergency, made the insurrection immediately appear formidable. In other counties, the gentry had kept closely united with government; but here

² Burnet, vol. ii. p. 115. Strype, vol. ii. p. 171.

C H A P. tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak
 XXXV. of reformation; and summoning the gentry to
 1549. appear before him, he gave such decrees as might
 be expected from his character and situation. The
 marquis of Northampton was first ordered against
 him; but met with a repulse, in an action,
 where lord Sheffield was killed*. The protector
 affected popularity, and cared not to appear in
 person against the rebels: He therefore sent the
 earl of Warwic at the head of 6000 men, levied
 for the wars against Scotland; and he thereby
 afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of
 increasing his reputation and character. Warwic,
 having tried some skirmishes with the rebels, at
 last made a general attack upon them, and put
 them to flight. Two thousand fell in the action
 and pursuit: Ket was hanged at Norwich castle;
 nine of his followers on the boughs of the oak of
 reformation; and the insurrection was entirely
 suppressed. Some rebels in Yorkshire, learning
 the fate of their companions, accepted the offers
 of pardon, and threw down their arms. A
 general indemnity was soon after published by
 the protector[†].

Conduct of
 the war with
 Scotland.

BUT though the insurrections were thus quickly
 subdued in England, and no traces of them
 seemed to remain, they were attended with bad
 consequences to the foreign interests of the
 nation. The forces of the earl of Warwic, which

* Stowe, p. 597. Hollingshed, p. 1030—34. Strype,
 vol. ii. p. 174. † Hayward, p. 297, 298, 299.

might have made a great impresson on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprize; and the French general had leisure to reduce that country to some settlement and composure. He took the fortrefs of Broughty, and put the garrison to the sword. He straitened the English at Haddington; and though lord Dacres was enabled to throw relief into the place, and to reinforce the garrison, it was found at last very chargeable, and even impracticable, to keep possession of that fortrefs. The whole country in the neighbourhood was laid waste by the inroads both of the Scots and English, and could afford no supply to the garrison: The place lay above thirty miles from the borders; so that a regular army was necessary to escort any provisions thither: And as the plague had broken out among the troops, they perished daily, and were reduced to a state of great weakness. For these reasons, orders were given to dismantle Haddington, and to convey the artillery and garrison to Berwic; and the earl of Rutland, now created warden of the east marches, executed the orders.

THE king of France also took advantage of the distractions among the English, and made an attempt to recover Bouløgne, and that territory, which Henry VIII. had conquered from France. On other pretences, he assembled an army; and falling suddenly upon the Boulonnois, took the castles of Sellaque, Blackness, and Ambleteuse, though well supplied with garrisons, ammunition,

C H A P.
XXXV.
1549.

C H A P. many of them took part with the populace; among
 XXXV. others, Humphry Arundel, governor of St. Michael's
 1549. Mount. The rioters were brought into the form
 of a regular army, which amounted to the number
 of ten thousand. Lord Russel had been sent against
 them at the head of a small force; but finding
 himself too weak to encounter them in the field,
 he kept at a distance, and began to negotiate
 with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by
 delay, and of dispersing them by the difficulty
 of their subsisting in a body. Their demands
 were, that the mass should be restored, half of
 the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the six
 articles executed, holy water and holy bread
 respected, and all other particular grievances re-
 dressed³. The council to whom Russel transmitted
 these demands, sent a haughty answer; com-
 manded the rebels to disperse, and promised them
 pardon upon their immediate submission. Enraged
 at this disappointment, they marched to Exeter;
 carrying before them crosses, banners, holy-
 water, candlesticks, and other implements of
 ancient superstition; together with the host,
 which they covered with a canopy⁴. The citizens
 of Exeter shut their gates; and the rebels, as
 they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the
 place, first by scalade, then by mining, but
 were repulsed in every attempt. Russel meanwhile
 lay at Honiton, till reinforced by Sir William

³ Hayward, p. 292. Hollingshed, p. 1003. Fox, vol. ii.
 p. 666. Mem. Cranm. p. 186.

⁴ Heylin, p. 76.

Herbert,

Herbert, and lord Gray, with some German horse, and some Italian arquebusiers under Battista Spinola. He then resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their posts, did great execution upon them both in the action and pursuit⁵, and took many prisoners. Arundel and the other leaders were sent to London, tried and executed. Many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law⁶: The vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish weeds, with his beads at his girdle⁷.

C H A P.
XXXV.
1549.

THE insurrection in Norfolk rose to a still greater height, and was attended with greater acts of violence. The populace were at first excited, as in other places, by complaints against enclosures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thousand, they grew insolent, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretensions. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing of new counsellors about the king, and the re-establishment of the ancient rites. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the government over them, and he exercised his authority with the utmost arrogance and outrage. Having taken possession of Moushold-Hill near Norwich, he erected his

⁵ Stowe's Annals, p. 597. Hayward, p. 295.

⁶ Hayward, p. 295, 296.

⁷ Heylin, p. 76. Hollingshed, p. 1026.

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C H A P.
xxxv.
1549.

C H A P. and provisions ¹⁰. He endeavoured to surprize
 XXXV. Boulenberg, and was repulsed; but the garrison,
 1549. not thinking the place tenable after the loss of
 the other fortresses, destroyed the works, and
 retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in
 great abundance during the autumn, and a
 pestilential distemper, which broke out in the
 French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of
 success against Boulogne itself; and he retired
 to Paris ¹¹. He left the command of the army to
 Gaspar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, so famous
 afterwards by the name of admiral Coligny; and
 he gave him orders to form the siege early in
 the spring. The active disposition of this general
 engaged him to make, during the winter, several
 attempts against the place; but they all proved
 unsuccessful.

STROZZI, who commanded the French fleet
 and galleys, endeavoured to make a descent on
 Jersey; but meeting there with an English fleet,
 he commenced an action, which seems not to
 have been decisive, since the historians of the
 two nations differ in their account of the event ¹².

As soon as the French war broke out, the
 protector endeavoured to fortify himself with the
 alliance of the emperor; and he sent over secretary
 Paget to Brussels, where Charles then kept court,
 in order to assist Sir Philip Hobby, the resident
 ambassador, in this negociation. But that

¹⁰ Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 6.

¹¹ Hayward, p. 300.

¹² Thuanus. King Edward's Journal, Stowe, p. 597.

prince had formed a design of extending his dominions by acting the part of champion for the catholic religion ; and though extremely desirous of accepting the English alliance against France, his capital enemy, he thought it unsuitable to his other pretensions to enter into strict confederacy with a nation, which had broken off all connexions with the church of Rome. He therefore declined the advances of friendship from England ; and eluded the applications of the ambassadors. An exact account is preserved of this negociation in a letter of Hobby's ; and it is remarkable, that the emperor, in a conversation with the English ministers, asserted that the prerogatives of a king of England were more extensive than those of a king of France¹³. Burnet, who preserves this letter, subjoins, as a parallel instance, that one objection, which the Scots made to marrying their queen with Edward, was, that all their privileges would be swallowed up by the great prerogative of the kings of England¹⁴.

SOMERSET, despairing of assistance from the emperor was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland ; and besides that he was not in a condition to maintain such ruinous wars, he thought, that there no longer remained any object of hostility. The Scots had sent away their queen ; and could not, if ever so much inclined, complete the marriage contracted with

¹³ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 132. 175. ¹⁴ Idem, p. 133.

C H A P. Edward : And as Henry VIII. had stipulated to
 XXXV. restore Boulogne in 1554, it seemed a matter of
 1549. small moment to anticipate, a few years, the
 execution of the treaty. But when he proposed
 these reasons to the council, he met with strong
 opposition from his enemies, who, seeing him
 unable to support the war, were determined,
 for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a
 pacification. The factions ran high in the court
 of England; and matters were drawing to an
 issue, fatal to the authority of the protector.

Factions in
 the council.

AFTER Somerset obtained the patent, investing
 him with regal authority, he no longer paid any
 attention to the opinion of the other executors and
 counsellors; and being elated with his high dignity,
 as well as with his victory at Pinkey, he thought,
 that every one ought, in every thing, to yield
 to his sentiments. All those who were not entirely
 devoted to him, were sure to be neglected;
 whoever opposed his will received marks of anger
 or contempt¹⁵; and while he showed a resolution
 to govern every thing, his capacity appeared
 not, in any respect, proportioned to his ambition.
 Warwic, more subtle and artful, covered more
 exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and
 having associated himself with Southampton, who
 had been re-admitted into the council, he formed
 a strong party, who were determined to free
 themselves from the slavery, imposed on them
 by the protector.

¹⁵ Strype, vol. ii. p. 181.

THE malecontent counsellors found the disposition of the nation favorable to their designs. The nobility and gentry were in general displeased with the preference, which Somerset seemed to have given to the people; and as they ascribed all the insults, to which they had been lately exposed, to his procrastination, and to the countenance shown to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the same disorders from his present affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requests in his own house for the relief of the people¹⁶, and he interposed with the judges in their behalf; a measure which might be deemed illegal, if any exertion of prerogative, at that time, could with certainty deserve that appellation. And this attempt, which was a stretch of power, seemed the more impolitic, because it disgusted the nobles, the surest support of monarchical authority.

BUT though Somerset courted the people, the interest, which he had formed with them, was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his declared enemies; and took advantage of every opportunity to decry his conduct. The attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect: The introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom, was represented in invidious colors: The great estate, which he had suddenly acquired, at the expence of the church

¹⁶ Strype, vol. ii. p. 183.

C H A P. and of the crown, rendered him obnoxious: and
XXXV. the palace, which he was building in the Strand,
1549. served, by its magnificence, and still more by
 other circumstances which attended it, to expose
 him to the censure of the public. The parish
 church of St. Mary, with three bishops' houses
 was pulled down, in order to furnish ground
 and materials for this structure: Not content with
 that sacrilege, an attempt was made to demolish
 St. Margaret's, Westminster, and to employ the
 stones to the same purpose; but the parishioners
 rose in a tumult, and chased away the protector's
 tradesmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel
 in St. Paul's Church yard, with a cloister, and
 charnelhouse belonging to it; and these edifices;
 together with a church of St. John of Jerusalem,
 were made use of to raise his palace. What
 rendered the matter more odious to the people,
 was that the tombs and other monuments of the
 dead were defaced; and the bones, being carried
 away, were buried in unconsecrated ground¹⁷.

5th Octob. ALL these imprudences were remarked by
 Somerset's enemies, who resolved to take advantage
 of them. Lord St. John, president of the
 council, the earls of Warwic, Southampton, and
Conspiracy Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-
against So- house; and assuming to themselves the whole
merfet. power of the council, began to act independently
 of the protector, whom they represented as the

¹⁷ Heylin, p. 72, 73. Stowe's Survey of London.
 Hayward, p. 303.

author of every public grievance and misfortune. C H A P.
They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry XXV.
in England, informing them of the present measures, 1549:
and requiring their assistance: They sent for the
mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined
them to obey their orders, without regard to any
contrary orders, which they might receive from
the duke of Somerset. They laid the same in-
junctions on the lieutenant of the Tower, who
expressed his resolution to comply with them.
Next day, Rich, lord chancellor, the marquis
of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, Sir
Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph
Sadler, and chief justice Montague, joined the
malecontent counsellors; and every thing bore a
bad aspect for the protector's authority. Secretary
Petre, whom he had sent to treat with the coun-
cil, rather chose to remain with them: The com-
mon council of the city, being applied to, de-
clared with one voice their approbation of the
new measures, and their resolution of supporting
them¹⁸.

As soon as the protector heard of the defection
of the counsellors, he removed the king from
Hampton-court, where he then resided, to the
castle of Windsor; and, arming his friends and
servants, seemed resolute to defend himself against
all his enemies. But finding, that no man of
rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to
him, that the people did not rise at his summons,

¹⁸ Stowe, p. 597, 598. Hollingshed, 1057.

C H A P.
XXXV.
1549.

that the City and Tower had declared against him, that even his best friends had deserted him, he lost all hopes of success, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveness. No sooner was this despondency known, than lord Russel, Sir John Baker, speaker of the house of commons, and three counsellors more, who had hitherto remained neuters, joined the party of Warwic, whom every one now regarded as master. The council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to the same purpose; and they made addresses to the king, in which, after the humblest protestations of duty and submission, they informed him, that they were the council appointed by his father, for the government of the kingdom during his minority; that they had chosen the duke of Somerset protector, under the express condition, that he should guide himself by their advice and direction; that he had usurped the whole authority, and had neglected, and even in every thing opposed, their counsel, that he had proceeded to that height of presumption, as to levy forces against them, and place these forces about his majesty's person: They therefore begged, that they might be admitted to his royal presence, that he would be pleased to restore them to his confidence, and that Somerset's servants might be dismissed. Their request was complied with: Somerset capitulated only for gentle treatment, which was promised him. He was,

Somerset
resigns the
protector-
ship.

however, sent to the Tower¹⁹, with some of his friends and partisans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards so much distinguished. Articles of indictment were exhibited against him²⁰; of which the chief, at least the best founded, is his usurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole administration of affairs. The clause of his patent, which invested him with absolute power, unlimited by any law, was never objected to him; plainly, because, according to the sentiments of those times, that power was, in some degree, involved in the very idea of regal authority.

C H A P.
XXXV.
1549.

THE catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and as they had ascribed all the late innovations to Somerset's authority, they hoped, that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwick, who now bore chief sway in the council, was entirely indifferent with regard to all these points of controversy; and finding, that the principles of the reformation had sunk deeper into Edward's mind than to be easily eradicated, he was determined to comply with the young prince's inclinations, and not to hazard his new acquired power by any dangerous enterprise. He took care very early to express his intentions of supporting the reformation; and he threw such discouragements

¹⁹ Stowe, p. 600. ²⁰ Burnet, vol. ii. book i. coll. 46. Hayward, p. 308. Stowe, p. 601. Hollingshed, p. 1059.

C H A P. on Southampton, who stood at the head of the
 XXXV. Romanists, and whom he considered as a dangerous
 1549. rival, that the high-spirited nobleman retired from
 the council, and soon after died from vexation
 and disappointment. The other counsellors, who
 had concurred in the revolution, received their
 reward by promotions and new honors. Russel
 was created earl of Bedford: The marquis of
 Northampton obtained the office of great cham-
 berlain; and lord Wentworth, besides the office
 of chamberlain of the household, got two large
 manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were
 torn from the see of London ²¹. A council of
 regency was formed, not that which Henry's
 will had appointed for the government of the
 kingdom, and which, being founded on an act
 of parliament, was the only legal one; but com-
 posed chiefly of members, who had formerly been
 appointed by Somerset, and who derived their
 seat from an authority, which was now declared
 usurped and illegal. But such niceties were,
 during that age, little understood, and still less
 regarded, in England.

4th Nov.
 A parlia-
 ment.

A SESSION of parliament was held; and as it
 was the usual maxim of that assembly to acquiesce
 in every administration which was established,
 the council dreaded no opposition from that
 quarter, and had more reason to look for a
 corroboration of their authority. Somerset had
 been prevailed on to confess, on his knees,

²¹ Heylin, p. 85. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 226.

before the council, all the articles of charge against him; and he imputed these misdemeanors to his own rashness, folly, and indiscretion, not to any malignity of intention²². He even subscribed this confession; and the paper was given in to parliament, who, after sending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwic earl marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no farther. His fine was remitted by the king: He recovered his liberty: And Warwic, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, and that his authority was much lessened by his late tame and abject behaviour, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset²³.

During this session a severe law was passed against riots²⁴. It was enacted, that if any, to the number of twelve persons, should meet together for any matter of state, and being required by a lawful magistrate, should not disperse, it should be treason: and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales about enclosures, without lawful authority, it should be felony: Any attempt

²² Heylin, p. 84. Hayward, p. 309. Stowe, p. 603.

²³ Hayward, p. 309. ²⁴ 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 5.

C H A P. to kill a privy counsellor was subjected to the
XXXV. same penalty. The bishops had made an applica-
1549. tion, complaining, that they were deprived of
all their power, by the encroachments of the
civil courts, and the present suspension of the
canon law; that they could summon no offender
before them, punish no vice, or exert the dis-
cipline of the church: From which diminution
of their authority, they pretended, immorality
had every where received great encouragement
and increase. The design of some was, to revive
the penitentiary rules of the primitive church:
But others thought, that such an authority
committed to the bishops, would prove more
oppressive than confession, penance, and all the
clerical inventions of the Romish superstition.
The parliament, for the present, contented them-
selves with empowering the king to appoint
thirty-two commissioners to compile a body of
canon laws, which were to be valid, though
never ratified by parliament. Such implicit trust
did they repose in the crown; without reflecting
that all their liberties and properties might be
affected by these canons ²⁵. The king did not
live to affix the royal sanction to the new canons.
Sir John Sharington, whose crimes and malver-
sations had appeared so egregious at the condem-
nation of lord Seymour, obtained from parliament
a reversal of his attainder ²⁶. This man sought
favor with the more zealous reformers; and bishop

²⁵ 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 2.

²⁶ Ibid. c. 13.

Latimer affirmed, that, though formerly he had C H A P.
 been a most notorious knave, he was now so XXXV.
 penitent, that he had become a very honest
 man.

WHEN Warwic and the council of regency 1550.
 began to exercise their power, they found them- Peace with
 selves involved in the same difficulties, that had France and
 embarrassed the protector. The wars with France Scotland.
 and Scotland could not be supported by an
 exhausted exchequer; seemed dangerous to a
 divided nation; and were now acknowledged not
 to have any object, which even the greatest and
 most uninterrupted success could attain. The
 project of peace, entertained by Somers, had
 served them as a pretence for clamor against
 his administration; yet after sending Sir Thomas
 Cheney to the emperor, and making again a
 fruitless effort to engage him in the protection of
 Boulogne, they found themselves obliged to listen
 to the advances, which Henry made them, by
 the canal of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant.
 The earl of Bedford, Sir John Mason, Paget,
 and Petre, were sent over to Boulogne, with
 full powers to negotiate. The French king
 absolutely refused to pay the two millions of
 crowns, which his predecessor had acknowledg-
 ed to be due to the crown of England, as arrears
 of pensions; and said, that he never would
 consent to render himself tributary to any
 prince: But he offered a sum for the immediate Boulogne
 restitution of Boulogne; and four hundred surrender-
 thousand crowns were at last agreed on, one half ed.
24th Mar.

C H A P.
XXXV.
1550.

to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty: The English stipulated to restore Lauder and Dunglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth²⁷. No sooner was peace concluded with France, than a project was entertained of a close alliance with that kingdom; and Henry willingly embraced a proposal so suitable both to his interests and his inclinations. An agreement, some time after, was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negociation, fully settled²⁸: But this project never took effect.

THE intention of marrying the king to a daughter of Henry, a violent persecutor of the protestants, was no wise acceptable to that party in England: But in all other respects, the council was steady in promoting the reformation, and in enforcing the laws against the Romanists. Several prelates were still addicted to that communion; and though they made some compliances, in order to save their bishoprics, they retarded, as much as they safely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to such incumbents as were negligent or refractory. A resolution was therefore taken to seek pretences for depriving

²⁷ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 148. Hayward. 310, 311, 312. Rymer, vol. xv. p. 211. ²⁸ Hayward, p. 318. Heylin, p. 104. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 239.

those

those prelates; and the execution of this intention was the more easy, as they had all of them been obliged to take commissions, in which it was declared, that they held their fees during the king's pleasure only. It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, in order to strike a terror into the rest. The method of proceeding against him was violent, and had scarcely any color of law or justice. Injunctions had been given him to inculcate, in a sermon, the duty of obedience to a king, even during his minority; and because he had neglected this topic, he had been thrown into prison, and had been there detained during two years, without being accused of any crime, except disobedience to this arbitrary command. The duke of Somerset, secretary Petre, and some others of the council, were now sent, in order to try his temper, and endeavour to find some grounds for depriving him: He professed to them his intention of conforming to the government, of supporting the king's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy. This was not the disposition which they expected or desired²⁹. A new deputation was therefore sent, who carried him several articles to subscribe. He was required to acknowledge his former misbehaviour, and to confess the justice of his confinement: He was likewise to own, that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing with holidays was part of the prerogative;

²⁹ Heylin, p. 99.

C H A P. that the book of common-prayer was a godly
 XXXV. and commendable form; that the king was a
 1550. complete sovereign in his minority; that the law
 of the six articles was justly repealed; and that
 the king had full authority to correct and reform
 what was amiss in ecclesiastical discipline, govern-
 ment, or doctrine. The bishop was willing to
 set his hand to all the articles except the first:
 He maintained his conduct to have been inoffensive;
 and declared that he would not own himself guilty
 of faults, which he had never committed³⁰.

THE council, finding that he had gone such
 lengths, were determined to prevent his full
 compliance by multiplying the difficulties upon
 him, and sending him new articles to subscribe.
 A list was selected of such points as they thought
 would be the hardest of digestion; and not
 content with this rigor, they also insisted on
 his submission, and his acknowledgment of past
 errors. To make this subscription more mortifying,
 they demanded a promise, that he would recom-
 mend and publish all these articles from the pulpit:
 But Gardiner, who saw, that they intended either
 to ruin or dishonor him, or perhaps both,
 determined not to gratify his enemies by any
 farther compliance: He still maintained his in-
 nocence; desired a fair trial; and refused to
 subscribe more articles, till he should recover his
 liberty. For this pretended offence his bishopric

³⁰ Collier, vol. ii. p. 305, from the council books.
 Heylin, p. 99.

was put under sequestration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than before, a commission was appointed to try, or, more properly speaking, to condemn him. The commissioners were, the primate, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, secretary Petre, Sir James Hales, and some other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commission, which was not founded on any statute or precedent; and he appealed from the commissioners to the king. His appeal was not regarded: Sentence was pronounced against him: He was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody: His books and papers were seized; he was secluded from all company; and it was not allowed him either to send or receive any letters or messages ³¹. C H A P. XXXV.

GARDINER, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the king's pleasure: But the council, unwilling to make use of a concession, which had been so illegally and arbitrarily extorted, chose rather to employ some forms of justice; a resolution, which led them to commit still greater iniquities and severities. But the violence of the reformers did not stop here. Day, bishop of Chichester, Heathe of Worcester, and Voisey of Exeter, were deprived of their bishoprics, on pretence of disobedience. Even Kitchen of Landaff, Capon of Salisbury, and Samson of Coventry, though they had complied in every

³¹ Fox, vol. ii. p. 734, & seq. Burnet. Heylin. Collier.

C H A P. thing, yet not being supposed cordial in their
 XXXV. obedience, were obliged to seek protection, by
 1551. sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their
 see to the rapacious courtiers³².

THESE plunderers neglected not even smaller profits. An order was issued by council, for purging the library at Westminster of all missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes, and delivering their garniture to Sir Anthony Aucher³³. Many of these books were plated with gold and silver, and curiously embossed; and this finery was probably the superstition that condemned them. Great havoc was likewise made on the libraries at Oxford. Books and manuscripts were destroyed without distinction: The volumes of divinity suffered for their rich binding: Those of literature were condemned as useless: Those of geometry and astronomy were supposed to contain nothing but necromancy³⁴. The university had not power to oppose these barbarous violences: They were in danger of losing their own revenues; and expected every moment to be swallowed up by the earl of Warwic and his associates.

THOUGH every one besides yielded to the authority of the council, the lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was, during

³² Goodwin de præsul. Angl. Heylin, p. 100.

³³ Collier, vol. ii. p. 307, from the council books.

³⁴ Wood, hist. & antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 271, 272.

some time, connived at; but, at last, her two C H A P.
 chaplains, Mallet and Berkeley, were thrown XXXV.
 into prison ³⁵; and remonstrances were made to 1551.
 the princess herself on account of her disobedience.
 The council wrote her a letter, by which they
 endeavoured to make her change her sentiments,
 and to persuade her, that her religious faith was
 very ill grounded. They asked her, what warrant
 there was in Scripture for prayers in an unknown
 tongue, the use of images, or offering up the
 sacrament for the dead; and they desired her to
 peruse St. Austin, and the other ancient doctors,
 who would convince her of the errors of the
 Romish superstition, and prove that it was founded
 merely on false miracles and lying stories ³⁶. The
 lady Mary remained obstinate against all this
 advice, and declared herself willing to endure
 death rather than relinquish her religion: She
 only feared, she said, that she was not worthy
 to suffer martyrdom in so holy a cause: And as
 for protestant books, she thanked God, that, as
 she never had, so she hoped never to read any of
 them. Dreading farther violence, she endeavoured
 to make an escape to her kinsman Charles; but
 her design was discovered and prevented ³⁷. The
 emperor remonstrated in her behalf, and even
 threatened hostilities, if liberty of conscience were
 refused her: But though the council, sensible that
 the kingdom was in no condition to support,

³⁵ Strype, vol. ii. p. 249. ³⁶ Fox, vol. ii. Collier.
 Burnet. ³⁷ Hayward, p. 315.

C H A P.
XXXV.
1551.

with honor, such a war, was desirous to comply; they found great difficulty to overcome the scruples of the young king. He had been educated in such a violent abhorrence of the mass and other popish rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he should participate, he thought, in the sin, if he allowed its commission: And when at last the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, prevailed somewhat over his opposition, he burst into tears; lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and bewailing his own hard fate, that he must suffer her to continue in such an abominable mode of worship.

THE great object, at this time, of antipathy among the protestant sects; was popery, or, more properly speaking, the papists. These they regarded as the common enemy, who threatened every moment to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and destroy its partisans by fire and sword: They had not as yet had leisure to attend to the other minute differences among themselves, which afterwards became the object of such furious quarrels and animosities, and threw the whole kingdom into combustion. Several Lutheran divines, who had reputation in those days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were induced to take shelter in England, from the persecutions, which the emperor exercised in Germany; and they received protection and encouragement. John A-lasco, a Polish nobleman, being expelled his country by the rigors of the catholics, settled,

during some time, at Embden in East-Friesland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. Foreseeing the persecutions which ensued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation along with him. The council, who regarded them as industrious, useful people, and desired to invite over others of the same character, not only gave them the church of Augustine friars for the exercise of their religion, but granted them a charter, by which they were erected into a corporation, consisting of a superintendant and four assisting ministers. This ecclesiastical establishment was quite independent of the church of England, and differed from it in some rites and ceremonies ³⁸.

C H A P.
XXXV.
1551.

THESE differences among the protestants were matter of triumph to the catholics; who insisted, that the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they lost all criterion of truth and falsehood in matters of religion, and must be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every sect of protestants afforded them the same topic of reasoning. The book of Common Prayer suffered in England a new revival, and some rites and ceremonies, which had given offence, were omitted ³⁹. The speculative doctrines, or the metaphysics of the religion, were also reduced to forty-two articles. These were intended to obviate farther divisions and variations; and the compiling of them had

³⁸ Mem. Cranm. p. 234. ³⁹ Ibid. p. 289.

C H A P. been postponed till the establishment of the
 XXXV. liturgy, which was justly regarded as a more
 1551. material object to the people. The eternity of
 hell torments is asserted in this confession of faith;
 and care is also taken to inculcate, not only
 that no heathen, how virtuous soever, can
 escape an endless state of the most exquisite
 misery, but also that every one who presumes to
 maintain, that any pagan can possibly be saved,
 is himself exposed to the penalty of eternal
 perdition ⁴⁰.

THE theological zeal of the council, though
 seemingly fervent, went not so far as to make
 them neglect their own temporal concerns, which
 seem to have ever been uppermost in their thoughts;
 They even found leisure to attend to the public
 interest; nay, to the commerce of the nation,
 which was, at that time, very little the object
 of general study or attention. The trade of Eng-
 land had anciently been carried on altogether by
 foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hanse-
 towns, or Easterlings, as they were called; and
 in order to encourage these merchants to settle
 in England, they had been erected into a cor-
 poration by Henry III. had obtained a patent,
 were endowed with privileges, and were exempted
 from several heavy duties paid by other aliens.
 So ignorant were the English of commerce, that
 this company, usually denominated the merchants
 of the Stil-yard, engrossed, even down to the

⁴⁰ Article xviii.

reign of Edward, almost the whole foreign trade of the kingdom and as they naturally employed the shipping of their own country, the navigation of England was also in a very languishing condition. It was therefore thought proper by the council to seek pretences for annulling the privileges of this corporation, privileges which put them nearly on an equal footing with Englishmen in the duties which they paid; and as such patents were, during that age, granted by the absolute power of the king, men were the less surpris'd to find them revoked by the same authority. Several remonstrances were made against this innovation, by Lubec, Hamburgh, and other Hanse-towns; but the council persevered in their resolution, and the good effects of it soon became visible to the nation. The English merchants, by their very situation as natives, had advantages above foreigners in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commodities; though these advantages had not hitherto been sufficient to rouse their industry, or engage them to become rivals to this opulent company: But when aliens' duty was also imposed upon all foreigners indiscriminately, the English were tempted to enter into commerce; and a spirit of industry began to appear in the kingdom⁴¹.

ABOUT the same time a treaty was made with Gustavus Ericson, king of Sweden, by which it was stipulated, that, if he sent bullion into

⁴¹ Hayward, p. 326. Heylin, p. 108. Strype's Mem. vol. ii. p. 295.

C H A P. England, he might export English commodities
 XXXV. without paying custom; that he should carry
 1551. bullion to no other prince; that if he sent ozimus,
 steel, copper, &c. he should pay custom for Eng-
 lish commodities as an Englishman; and that, if
 he sent other merchandise, he should have free
 intercourse, paying custom as a stranger⁴². The
 bullion sent over by Sweden, though it could
 not be in great quantity, set the mint at work:
 Good specie was coined: And much of the base
 metal, formerly issued, was recalled: A circumstance
 which tended extremely to the encouragement
 of commerce.

Warwic cre-
 ated duke of
 Northum-
 berland.

BUT all these schemes for promoting industry were
 likely to prove abortive, by the fear of domestic
 convulsions, arising from the ambition of Warwic.
 That nobleman, not contented with the station
 which he had attained, carried farther his preten-
 sions, and had gained partisans, who were disposed
 to second him in every enterprise. The last earl
 of Northumberland died without issue; and as
 Sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted
 on account of the share, which he had in the
 Yorkshire insurrection during the late reign, the
 title was at present extinct, and the estate was
 vested in the crown. Warwic now procured to
 himself a grant of those ample possessions, which
 lay chiefly in the North, the most warlike part of
 the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title
 of duke of Northumberland. His friend, Paulet,

⁴² Heylin, p. 109.

lord St. John, the treasurer, was created, first, C H A P.
 earl of Wiltshire, then marquis of Winchester: XXXV
 Sir William Herbert obtained the title of earl of 1551.
 Pembroke.

BUT the ambition of Northumberland made him ^{His ambi-}
 regard all increase of possessions and titles, either ^{tion.}
 to himself or his partisans, as steps only to
 farther acquisitions. Finding that Somerset, though
 degraded from his dignity, and even lessened in
 the public opinion by his spiritless conduct, still
 enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he
 determined to ruin the man, whom he regarded
 as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his hopes.
 The alliance, which had been contracted between
 the families, had produced no cordial union, and
 only enabled Northumberland to compass with
 more certainty the destruction of his rival. He
 secretly gained many of the friends and servants
 of that unhappy nobleman: He sometimes ter-
 rified him by the appearance of danger: Some-
 times provoked him by ill usage. The unguarded
 Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions
 against Northumberland: At other times, he
 formed rash projects, which he immediately
 abandoned: His treacherous confidants carried to
 his enemy every passionate word, which dropped
 from him: They revealed the schemes, which they
 themselves had first suggested ⁴³: And Northumber-
 land, thinking that the proper season was now come,
 began to act in an open manner against him.

⁴³ Heylin, p. 112.

C H A P. IN one night, the duke of Somerset, lord Grey,
 XXXV. David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neu-
 1551. digate, two of the duke's servants, Sir Ralph
 16th Octob. Vane and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested and
 committed to custody. Next day, the dutchess
 of Somerset, with her favorites, Crane and his
 wife, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope,
 Bannister, and others, was thrown into prison.
 Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as
 a spy upon Somerset, accused him of having
 formed a design to raise an insurrection in the
 north, to attack the gens d'armes on a muster-
 day, to secure the Tower, and to raise a re-
 bellion in London: But, what was the only
 probable accusation, he asserted, that Somerset
 had once laid a project for murdering Northumber-
 land, Northampton, and Pembroke at a banquet,
 which was to be given them by lord Paget.
 Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's testimony
 with regard to this last design; and it appears
 that some rash scheme of that nature had really
 been mentioned; though no regular conspiracy
 had been formed, or means prepared for its exe-
 cution. Hammond confessed, that the duke had
 armed men to guard him one night in his house
 at Greenwich.

Trial of So-
 merfet.

SOMERSET was brought to his trial before the
 marquis of Winchester, created high steward.
 Twenty-seven peers composed the jury, among
 whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and
 Northampton, whom decency should have hinder-
 ed from acting as judges in the trial of a man,

that appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerset C H A P.
XXXV.
1551.
was accused of high treason on account of the projected insurrections, and of felony in laying a design to murder privy-counsellors.

WE have a very imperfect account of all state trials during that age, which is a sensible defect in our history: But it appears, that some more regularity was observed in the management of this prosecution than had usually been employed in like cases. The witnesses were at least examined by the privy-council; and though they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the prisoner (circumstances required by the strict principles of equity) their depositions were given in to the jury. The proof seems to have been lame with regard to the treasonable part of the charge; and Somerset's defence was so satisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favor: The intention alone of assaulting the privy counsellors was supported by tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The prisoner himself confessed, that he had expressed his intention of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any resolution on that head: And when he received sentence, he asked pardon of those peers for the designs, which he had hearkened to against them. The people, by whom Somerset was beloved, hearing the first part of his sentence, by which he was acquitted from treason, expressed their joy by loud acclamations: But their satisfaction was suddenly

E H A P. damped, on finding that he was condemned to
XXXV. death for felony⁴⁴.

1552.

His execu-
tion.
22d Jan.

CARE had been taken by Northumberland's emissaries, to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, and the prince was kept from reflection by a continued series of occupations and amusements. At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness, that they entertained, to the last moment, the fond hopes of his pardon⁴⁵. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime. Somerset indeed, though many actions of his life were exceptionable, seems, in general, to have merited a better fate; and the faults, which he committed, were owing to weakness, not to any bad intention. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmness, he was ill-fitted to extricate himself from those cabals and violences, to which that age was so much addicted. Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Ralph Vane, all of them

⁴⁴ Hayward, p. 320, 321, 322. Stowe, p. 606.
Hollingshed, p. 1067.

⁴⁵ Hayward, p. 324, 325.

Somerſet's friends, were brought to their trial, condemned and executed: Great injuſtice ſeems to have been uſed in their proſecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy, was, on ſome pretence, tried in the ſtar-chamber, and condemned in a fine of 6000 pounds, with the loſs of his office. To mortify him the more, he was degraded from the order of the garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to ſhare that honor⁴⁶. Lord Rich, chancellor, was alſo compelled to reſign his office, on the diſcovery of ſome marks of friendſhip, which he had ſhown to Somerſet.

C H A P.
XXXV.
1552.

THE day after the execution of Somerſet, a ſeſſion of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the eſtabliſhment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authorized; and penalties were enacted againſt all thoſe who abſented themſelves from public worſhip⁴⁷. To uſe the maſs had already been prohibited under ſevere penalties; ſo that the reformers, it appears, whatever ſcope they had given to their own private judgment, in diſputing the tenets of the ancient religion, were reſolved not to allow the ſame privilege to others; and the practice, nay the very doctrine of toleration, was, at that time, equally unknown to all ſects and parties. To diſſent from the religion of the magiſtrate, was univerſally conceived to be as criminal as to queſtion his title, or rebel againſt his authority.

22d Jan.
A parlia-
ment.

⁴⁶ Stowe, p. 608. ⁴⁷ 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. i.

CHAPTER. A LAW was enacted against usury; that is,
 XXXV. against taking any interest for money⁴⁸. This
 1552. act was the remains of ancient superstition; but
 being found extremely iniquitous in itself, as well
 as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards
 repealed in the twelfth of Elizabeth. The com-
 mon rate of interest, notwithstanding the law,
 was at this time 14 per cent⁴⁹.

A BILL was introduced by the ministry into
 the house of lords, renewing those rigorous sta-
 tutes of treason, which had been abrogated in
 the beginning of this reign; and though the peers,
 by their high station, stood most exposed to
 these tempests of state, yet had they so little
 regard to public security, or even to their own
 true interest, that they passed the bill with only
 one dissenting voice⁵⁰. But the commons rejected
 it, and prepared a new bill, that passed into a
 law, by which it was enacted, that whoever
 should call the king or any of his heirs, named
 in the statute of the 35th of the last reign, heretic,
 schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown,
 should forfeit, for the first offence, their goods
 and chattels, and be imprisoned during pleasure;
 for the second, should incur a *præmunire*; for the
 third, should be attainted for treason. But if
 any should unadvisedly utter such a slander in
 writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving,
 he was, for the first offence, to be held a

⁴⁸ 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 20.

⁴⁹ Hayward, p. 318.

⁵⁰ Parliament. Hist. vol. iii. p. 258. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 190.
 traitor.

traitor⁵¹. It may be worthy of notice, that the king and his next heir, the lady Mary, were professedly of different religions; and religions, which threw on each other the imputation of heresy, schism, idolatry, profaneness, blasphemy, wickedness, and all the opprobrious epithets that religious zeal has invented. It was almost impossible, therefore, for the people, if they spoke at all on these subjects, not to fall into the crime, so severely punished by the statute; and the jealousy of the commons for liberty, though it led them to reject the bill of treasons, sent to them by the lords, appears not to have been very active, vigilant, or clear-sighted.

C H A P.
XXXV.
1552.

THE commons annexed to this bill a clause which was of more importance than the bill itself, that no one should be convicted of any kind of treason, unless the crime were proved by the oaths of two witnesses, confronted with the prisoner. The lords, for some time, scrupled to pass this clause; though conformable to the most obvious principles of equity. But the members of that house trusted for protection to their present personal interest and power, and neglected the noblest and most permanent security, that of laws.

THE house of peers passed a bill, whose object was making a provision for the poor; but the commons, not chusing that a money-bill should begin in the upper house, framed a new act to

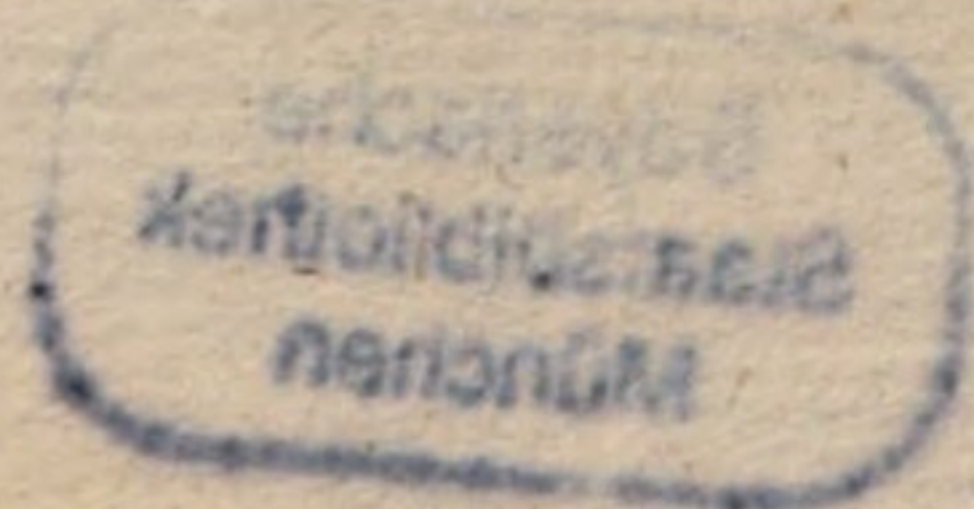
⁵¹ 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2.

C H A P. the same purpose. By this act, the church-wardens
 XXXV. were empowered to collect charitable contribu-
 1552. tions; and if any refused to give, or dissuaded
 others from that charity, the bishop of the diocese
 was empowered to proceed against them. Such
 large discretionary powers, intrusted to the pre-
 lates, seem as proper an object of jealousy as the
 authority assumed by the peers ⁵².

THERE was another occasion, in which the
 parliament reposed an unusual confidence in the
 bishops. They empowered them to proceed against
 such as neglected the Sundays and holidays ⁵³.
 But these were unguarded concessions granted to
 the church: The general humor of the age
 rather led men to bereave the ecclesiastics of all
 power, and even to pillage them of their
 property: Many clergymen, about this time,
 were obliged for a subsistence to turn carpenters
 or tailors, and some kept alehouses ⁵⁴. The
 bishops themselves were generally reduced to
 poverty, and held both their revenues and spiri-
 tual office by a very precarious and uncertain
 tenure.

TONSTAL, bishop of Durham, was one of the
 most eminent prelates of that age, still less for the
 dignity of his see, than for his own personal
 merit; his learning, moderation, humanity, and
 beneficence. He had opposed, by his vote and
 authority, all innovations in religion; but as soon
 as they were enacted, he had always submitted,

⁵² 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 3. ⁵³ Ibid. c. 3. ⁵⁴ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 202.



and had conformed to every theological system, which had been established. His known probity had made this compliance be ascribed, not to an interested or time-serving spirit, but to a sense of duty, which led him to think, that all private opinion ought to be sacrificed to the great concern of public peace and tranquillity. The general regard, paid to his character, had protected him from any severe treatment during the administration of Somerset; but when Northumberland gained the ascendant, he was thrown into prison; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a design of seizing the revenues of the see of Durham, and of acquiring to himself a principality in the northern counties, he was resolved, in order to effect his purpose, to deprive Tonsal of his bishopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of misprision of treason, was introduced into the house of peers against the prelate; and it passed with the opposition only of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and sincere friendship to the bishop of Durham. But when the bill was sent down to the commons, they required, that witnesses should be examined, that Tonsal should be allowed to defend himself, and that he should be confronted with his accusers: And when these demands were refused, they rejected the bill.

THIS equity, so unusual in the parliament during that age, was ascribed by Northumberland and his partisans, not to any regard for liberty and justice, but to the prevalence of Somerset's

C H A P.
XXXV.
1552.

15th April.

A new par-
liament.

faction, in a house of commons, which, being chosen during the administration of that nobleman, had been almost entirely filled with his creatures. They were confirmed in this opinion, when they found, that a bill, ratifying the attainder of Somerset and his accomplices, was also rejected by the commons, though it had passed the upper house. A resolution was therefore taken to dissolve the parliament, which had sitten during this whole reign; and soon after to summon a new one.

NORTHUMBERLAND, in order to ensure to himself a house of commons entirely obsequious to his will, ventured on an expedient, which could not have been practised, or even imagined, in an age, when there was any idea or comprehension of liberty. He engaged the king to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freeholders, that they were required to choose men of knowledge and experience for their representatives. After this general exhortation, the king continued in these words: "And yet, nevertheless, our pleasure is, that where our privy-council, or any of them shall, in our behalf, recommend, within their jurisdiction, men of learning and wisdom; in such cases, their directions shall be regarded and followed, as tending to the same end which we desire, that is, to have this assembly composed of the persons in our realm the best fitted to give advice and good counsel". Several

" Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 394.

letters were sent from the king, recommending members to particular counties, Sir Richard Cotton to Hampshire; Sir William Fitzwilliams and Sir Henry Nevil to Berkshire; Sir William Drury and Sir Henry Benningfield to Suffolk, &c. But though some counties only received this species of *congé d'elire* from the king; the recommendations from the privy - council and the counsellors, we may fairly presume, would extend to the greater part, if not the whole, of the kingdom.

C H A P.
XXXV.

It is remarkable, that this attempt was made during the reign of a minor king, when the royal authority is usually weakest; that it was patiently submitted to; and that it gave so little umbrage as scarcely to be taken notice of by any historian. The painful and laborious collector above-cited, who never omits the most trivial matter, is the only person, that has thought this memorable letter worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

THE parliament answered Northumberland's expectations. As Tonstal had in the interval been deprived of his bishopric in an arbitrary manner, by the sentence of lay commissioners, appointed to try him, the see of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two bishoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue assigned them. The regalities of the see, which included the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland; nor is it to be doubted but that nobleman had also purposed to make rich plunder of the revenue, as was then

1553.

1st March

C H A P. usual with the courtiers, whenever a bishopric
XXXV. became vacant.

1552.

THE commons gave the ministry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the most sincere of any, the most cordial; and the most difficult to be obtained: They granted a supply of two subsidies and two fifteenths. To render this present the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accusation of Somerset, “ for involving the king in wars, wasting his
“ treasure, engaging him in much debt, embasing
“ the coin, and giving occasion for a most terrible
“ rebellion ”.

THE debts of the crown were at this time considerable. The king had received from France 400,000 crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profit from the sale of some chantry lands; the churches had been spoiled of all their plate and rich ornaments, which, by a decree of council, without any pretence of law or equity, had been converted to the king's use⁵⁶: Yet such had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about 300,000 pounds⁵⁸; and great dilapidations were, at the same time, made of the royal demesnes. The young prince showed among other virtues, a disposition to frugality, which, had he lived, would soon have retrieved these losses: But as his health was declining very fast, the present emptiness of the exchequer was

⁵⁶ 7 Edw. VI. c. 12.

⁵⁷ Heylin, p. 95. 132.

⁵⁸ Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 344.

a sensible obstacle to the execution of those projects, which the ambition of Northumberland had founded on the prospect of Edward's approaching end.

C H A P.
XXXV.
1553.

THAT nobleman represented to the prince, whom youth and an infirm state of health made susceptible of any impression, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both of them been declared illegitimate by act of parliament: And though Henry by his will had restored them to a place in the succession, the nation would never submit to see the throne of England filled by a bastard: That they were the king's sisters by the half-blood only; and even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and successors: That the queen of Scots stood excluded by the late king's will; and being an alien, had lost by law all right of inheriting; not to mention, that, as she was betrothed to the dauphin, she would, by her succession, render England, as she had already done Scotland, a province to France: That the certain consequence of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the protestant religion, and the repeal of the laws enacted in favor of the reformation, and the re-establishment of the usurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome: That fortunately for England, the same order of succession, which justice required, was also the most conformable to public interest; and there was not on any side any just ground for doubt or deliberation: That when these three princesses

Succession
changed.

C H A P.
XXXV.
1553.

were excluded by such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen and the duke of Suffolk: That the next heir of the marchioness was the lady Jane Gray, a lady of the most amiable character, accomplished by the best education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a crown: And that even, if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power, that his father enjoyed; and might leave her the crown by letters patent. These reasonings made impression on the young prince; and above all, his zealous attachment to the protestant religion made him apprehend the consequences, if so bigotted a catholic as his sister Mary should succeed to the throne. And though he bore a tender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no such objection, means were found to persuade him, that he could not exclude the one sister, on account of illegitimacy, without giving also an exclusion to the other.

NORTHUMBERLAND, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. Two sons of the duke of Suffolk by a second venter having died, this season, of the sweating sickness, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset. By means of this favor and of others, which he conferred upon him, he persuaded the new duke

of Suffolk and the dutchess, to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son, the lord Guildford Dudley. In order to fortify himself by farther alliances, he negociated a marriage between the lady Catherine Gray, second daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke. He also married his own daughter to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon⁵⁹. These marriages were solemnized with great pomp and festivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expressing their indignation at seeing such public demonstrations of joy, during the languishing state of the young prince's health.

EDWARD had been seized in the foregoing year, first with the measles, then with the small-pox; but having perfectly recovered from both these distempers, the nation entertained hopes, that they would only serve to confirm his health; and he had afterwards made a progress through some parts of the kingdom. It was suspected, that he had there overheated himself in exercise: He was seized with a cough, which proved obstinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: Several fatal symptoms of a consumption appeared; and though it was hoped, that, as the season advanced, his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, men saw with great concern his bloom and vigor insensibly decay. The general attachment to the young

C H A P.
XXXV.
1553.

The king's
sickness.

⁵⁹ Heylin, p. 199. Stowe, p. 609.

C H A P.
XXXV.
1553.

prince, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked, that Edward had every moment declined in health, from the time that lord Robert Dudley had been put about him, in quality of gentleman of the bedchamber.

THE languishing state of Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all, except his own emissaries, from about the king: He himself attended him with the greatest assiduity: He pretended the most anxious concern for his health and welfare: And by all these artifices he prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and solicitor-general, were summoned to the council; where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They hesitated to obey; and desired time to consider of it. The more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The settlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, passed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treason in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of succession. The judges pleaded these reasons before the council. They urged, that such a patent as was intended would be entirely

C H A P.

XXXV.

1553.

invalid; that it would subject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason; and that the only proper expedient, both for giving sanction to the new settlement, and freeing its partisans from danger, was to summon a parliament, and to obtain the consent of that assembly. The king said, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a parliament, in which he purposed to have his settlement ratified; but in the mean time, he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. The council told the judges, that their refusal would subject all of them to the pains of treason. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and said that he would in his shirt fight any man in so just a cause as that of lady Jane's succession. The judges were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers from the law, and those which arose from the violence of present power and authority⁶⁰.

THE arguments were canvassed in several different meetings between the council and the judges; and no solution could be found of the difficulties. At last, Montague proposed an expedient, which satisfied both his brethren and the counsellors. He desired, that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown; and that a pardon should

⁶⁰ Fuller, book viii. p. 2.

C H A P. immediately after be granted them for any offence,
 XXXV. which they might have incurred by their compli-
 1553. ance. When the patent was drawn and brought
 to the bishop of Ely, chancellor, in order to
 have the great seal affixed to it, this prelate re-
 quired, that all the judges should previously sign
 it. Gosnald at first refused; and it was with much
 difficulty, that he was prevailed on, by the
 violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply;
 but the constancy of Sir James Hales, who though
 a zealous protestant, preferred justice on this oc-
 casion to the prejudices of his party, could not
 be shaken by any expedient. The chancellor
 next required, for his greater security, that all
 the privy counsellors should set their hands to the
 patent: The intrigues of Northumberland or the
 fears of his violence were so prevalent, that the
 21st Jun. counsellors complied with this demand. Cranmer
 alone hesitated during some time, but at last
 yielded to the earnest and pathetic entreaties of
 the king⁶¹. Cecil, at that time secretary of state,
 pretended afterwards, that he only signed as
 witness to the king's subscription. And thus,
 by the king's letters patent, the two princesses,
 Mary and Elizabeth, were set aside; and the
 crown was settled on the heirs of the dutchess
 of Suffolk: For the dutchess herself was content
 to give place to her daughters.

AFTER this settlement was made, with so many
 inauspicious circumstances, Edward visibly declined

⁶¹ Cranm. Mem. p. 295.

every day ; and small hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make matters worse, his physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice and by an order of council ; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman , who undertook , in a little time , to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines , all the bad symptoms increased to the most violent degree : He felt a difficulty of speech and breathing ; his pulse failed , his legs swelled , his color became livid ; and many other symptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich in the sixteenth year of his age , and the seventh of his reign. C H A P.
XXXV.
1553.
And death,
6th July.

ALL the English historians dwell with pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince ; whom the flattering promises of hope , joined to many real virtues , had made an object of tender affection to the public. He possessed mildness of disposition , application to study and business , a capacity to learn and judge , and an attachment to equity and justice. He seems only to have contracted , from his education and from the genius of the age in which he lived , too much of a narrow prepossession in matters of religion , which made him incline somewhat to bigotry and persecution : But as the bigotry of protestants , less governed by priests , lies under more restraints than that of catholics , the effects of this malignant quality were the less to be apprehended , if a longer life had been granted to young Edward.

C H A P. XXXVI.

M A R Y.

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen — Deserted by the people — The queen proclaimed and acknowledged — Northumberland executed — Catholic religion restored — A parliament — Deliberations with regard to the queen's marriage — Queen's marriage with Philip — Wyatt's insurrection — Suppressed — Execution of Lady Jane Gray — A parliament — Philip's arrival in England.

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1553.

THE title of the princess Mary, after the demise of her brother, was not exposed to any considerable difficulty; and the objections, started by the lady Jane's partisans, were new and unheard-of by the nation. Though all the protestants, and even many of the catholics, believed the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon to be unlawful and invalid; yet, as it had been contracted by the parties without any criminal intention, had been avowed by their parents, recognized by the nation, and seemingly founded on those principles of law and religion, which then prevailed, few imagined, that their issue ought on that account to be regarded as illegitimate. A declaration to that

purpose had indeed been extorted from parliament by the usual violence and caprice of Henry; but as that monarch had afterwards been induced to restore his daughter to the right of succession, her title was now become as legal and parliamentary as it was ever esteemed just and natural. The public had long been familiarised to these sentiments: During all the reign of Edward, the princess was regarded as his lawful successor: And though the protestants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred, universally entertained against the Dudleys¹, who, men foresaw, would, under the name of Jane, be the real sovereigns, was more than sufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. This last attempt, to violate the order of succession, had displayed Northumberland's ambition and injustice in a full light; and when the people reflected on the long train of fraud, iniquity, and cruelty by which that project had been conducted; that the lives of the two Seymours, as well as the title of the princesses, had been sacrificed to it; they were moved by indignation to exert themselves in opposition to such criminal enterprizes. The general veneration also, paid to the memory of Henry VIII. prompted the nation to defend the rights of his posterity; and the miseries of the ancient civil wars were not so entirely forgotten, that men were willing,

C H A P.

XXXVI.

1553.

¹ Sleidan, lib. 25.

C H A P. XXXVI.

M A R Y.

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C H A P.

XXXVI.

1553.

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C H A P.

XXXVI.

1553.

^r Sleidan, lib. 25.

C H A P. by a departure from the lawful heir, to incur the
XXXVI. danger of like bloodshed and confusion.

1553.

NORTHUMBERLAND, sensible of the opposition which he must expect, had carefully concealed the destination made by the king; and in order to bring the two princesses into his power, he had had the precaution to engage the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, desiring their attendance, on pretence that his infirm state of health required the assistance of their counsel and the consolation of their company². Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princesses fall into the snare, kept the king's death still secret; and the lady Mary had already reached Hoddesden, within half a day's journey of the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel sent her private intelligence, both of her brother's death and of the conspiracy formed against her³: She immediately made haste to retire; and she arrived, by quick journies, first at Kenning hall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suffolk; where she purposed to embark and escape to Flanders, in case she should find it impossible to defend her right of succession. She wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county in England; commanding them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person. And she dispatched a message to the council; by which she notified to them, that her brother's

² Heylin, p. 154.

³ Burnet, vol. ii, p. 233.

death

death was no longer a secret to her, promised them pardon for past offences, and required them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London ⁴.

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1553.

NORTHUMBERLAND found that farther dissimulation was fruitless: He went to Sion-house ⁵, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the lady Jane, who resided there, with all the respect usually paid to the sovereign. Jane was, in a great measure, ignorant of these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprise, that she received intelligence of them ⁶.

Lady Jane
Gray pro-
claimed
queen.

She was a lady of an amiable person, an engaging disposition, accomplished parts; and being of an equal age with the late king, she had received all her education with him, and seemed even to possess greater facility in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, besides modern tongues; had passed most of her time in an application to learning; and expressed a great indifference for other occupations and amusements, usual with her sex and station. Roger Ascham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of

⁴ Fox, vol. iii. p. 14.

⁵ Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 10.

⁶ Goodwin in Kennet, p. 329. Heylin, p. 149. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 234.

CHAP. hunting in the park ; and on his admiring the
 XXXVI. singularity of her choice, she told him, that she
 1553. received more pleasure from that author than the
 others could reap from all their sport and gaiety⁷.
 Her heart, full of this passion for literature and
 the elegant arts, and of tenderness towards her
 husband, who was deserving of her affections,
 had never opened itself to the flattering allurements
 of ambition ; and the intelligence of her elevation
 to the throne was no-wise agreeable to her. She
 even refused to accept of the present ; pleaded
 the preferable title of the two princesses ; expressed
 her dread of the consequences attending an enter-
 prise so dangerous, not to say so criminal ; and
 desired to remain in the private station, in which
 she was born. Overcome at last by the entreaties,
 rather than the reasons, of her father and father-in-
 law, and above all of her husband, she submitted
 to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquish
 her own judgment. It was then usual for the kings
 of England, after their accession, to pass the first
 days in the Tower ; and Northumberland imme-
 diately conveyed thither the new sovereign. All
 the counsellors were obliged to attend her to
 that fortress ; and by this means became, in
 reality, prisoners in the hands of Northumberland ;
 whose will they were necessitated to obey. Or-
 ders were given by the council to proclaim Jane
 throughout the kingdom ; but these orders were
 executed only in London, and the neighbourhood.

⁷ Ascham's works, p. 222, 223.

No applause ensued : The people heard the proclamation with silence and concern : Some even expressed their scorn and contempt : and one Pot, a vintner's apprentice, was severely punished for this offence. The protestant teachers themselves, who were employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found their eloquence fruitless ; and Ridley, bishop of London, who preached a sermon to that purpose, wrought no effect upon his audience.

THE people of Suffolk meanwhile, paid their attendance on Mary. As they were much attached to the reformed communion, they could not forbear, amidst their tenders of duty, expressing apprehensions for their religion ; but when she assured them, that she never meant to change the laws of Edward, they insisted themselves in her cause with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, and brought her reinforcement. The earls of Bath and Suffex, the eldest sons of lord Warton and lord Mordaunt, Sir William Drury, Sir Henry Benningfield, Sir Henry Jernegan, persons whose interest lay in the neighbourhood, appeared at the head of their tenants and retainers*. Sir Edward Hastings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having received a commission from the council to make levies for the lady Jane in Buckinghamshire, carried over his troops, which amounted to four thousand men, and joined Mary. Even a fleet,

* Heylin, p. 160. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 237.

C H A P. which had been sent by Northumberland to lie
 XXXVI. off the coast of Suffolk, being forced into Yar-
 1553. mouth by a storm, was engaged to declare for
 that princess.

NORTHUMBERLAND, hitherto blinded by ambition, saw at last the danger gather round him and knew not to what hand to turn himself. He had levied forces, which were assembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counsellors, whose compliance, he knew, had been entirely the result of fear or artifice, he was resolved to keep near the person of the lady Jane, and send Suffolk to command the army. But the counsellors who wished to remove him⁹, working on the filial tenderness of Jane, magnified to her the danger, to which her father would be exposed; and represented, that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by formerly suppressing a rebellion in those parts, was more proper to command in that enterprise. The duke himself, who knew the slender capacity of Suffolk, began to think, that none but himself was able to encounter the present danger; and he agreed to take on him the command of the troops. The counsellors attended on him at his departure with the highest protestations of attachment, and none more than Arundel, his mortal enemy¹⁰. As he went along, he remarked the disaffection

⁹ Goodwin, p. 330. Heylin, p. 159. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 239. Fox, vol. iii. p. 15.

¹⁰ Heylin, p. 161. Baker, 315. Hollingshed, p. 1086.

of the people, which foreboded a fatal issue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," said he to lord Gray, "come out to look at us, but I find not one who cries, *God speed you*¹¹."

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1553.

THE duke had no sooner reached St. Edmond's-bury, than he found his army which did not exceed six thousand men, too weak to encounter the Queen's¹², which amounted to double the number. He wrote to the council, desiring them to send him a reinforcement; and the counsellors immediately laid hold of the opportunity to free themselves from confinement. They left the Tower, as if they meant to execute Northumberland's commands; but being assembled in Baynard's castle, a house belonging to Pembroke, they deliberated concerning the method of shaking off his usurped tyranny. Arundel began the conference, by representing the injustice and cruelty of Northumberland, the exorbitancy of his ambition, the criminal enterprise which he had projected, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council; and he affirmed, that the only method of making atonement for their past offences, was by a speedy return to the duty, which they owed to their lawful sovereign¹³. This motion was seconded by Pembroke, who, clapping his hand to his sword, swore he was ready to fight any man that expressed himself of a contrary sentiment. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately

Lady Jane
deserted by
the people.

¹¹ Speed, p. 816.

¹² Goodwin, p. 331.

¹³ Goodwin, p. 331, 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii.

C H A P. sent for, who discovered great alacrity in obeying
XXXVI. the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The
1553. people expressed their approbation by shouts of
 applause. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the
 Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the
 gates, and declared for the queen. The lady
 Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown
 during ten days, returned to a private life with
 more satisfaction than she felt when the royalty
 was tendered to her¹⁴: And the messengers, who
 were sent to Northumberland, with orders to lay
 down his arms, found that he had despaired of
 success, was deserted by all his followers, and
 had already proclaimed the queen, with exterior
 marks of joy and satisfaction¹⁵. The people
 every where, on the queen's approach to Lon-
 don, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and
 attachment. And the lady Elizabeth met her at
 the head of a thousand horse, which that prin-
 cess had levied in order to support their joint
 title against the usurper¹⁶.

The queen
 proclaimed
 and ac-
 knowledg-
 ed.

THE queen gave orders for taking into custody
 the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his
 knees to the earl of Arundel that arrested him,
 and abjectly begged his life¹⁷. At the same time
 were committed the earl of Warwic his eldest

¹⁴ Goodwin, p. 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 2.

¹⁵ Stowe, p. 612.

¹⁶ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 240.

Heylin, p. 19. Stowe, p. 613.

¹⁷ Burnet, vol. ii.

p. 239. Stowe, p. 612. Baker, p. 315. Hollingshed,
 p. 1088.

son, lord Ambrose and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger sons, Sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Gray, and lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and because the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk himself recovered his liberty; and he owed this indulgence, in a great measure, to the contempt entertained of his capacity. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial, he only desired permission to ask two questions of the peers, appointed to sit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treason that obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal? and whether those who were involved in the same guilt with himself, could sit as his judges? Being told, that the great seal of an usurper was no authority, and that persons, not lying under any sentence of attainder, were still innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury¹⁸; he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty. At his execution, he made profession of the catholic

C H A P.

XXXVI.

1553.

22d Aug.
Northum-
berland
executed.

¹⁸ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 243. Heylin, p. 18. Baker, p. 316. Hollingshed, p. 1089.

C H A P. religion, and told the people, that they never
 XXXVI. would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the
 1553. faith of their ancestors : Whether that such were
 his real sentiments, which he had formerly disguised from interest and ambition, or that he hoped, by this declaration, to render the queen more favorable to his family ¹⁹. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates suffered with him; and this was all the blood spilled on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprise against the rights of the sovereign. Sentence was pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but without any present intention of putting it in execution. The youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded sufficiently in their favor.

WHEN Mary first arrived in the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained prisoner during all the last reign; Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been subjected to the same punishment ever since his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonstal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adhering to the catholic cause, appeared before her, and implored her clemency and protection ²⁰. They were all of them restored to their liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favor. Norfolk's attainder, notwithstanding that it had passed in Parliament,

¹⁹ Heylin, p. 19. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 243. Stowe, p. 614.

²⁰ Heylin, p. 20. Stowe, p. 613. Hollingshed. p. 1088.

was represented as null and invalid; because, among other informalities, no special matter had been alledged against him, except wearing a coat of arms, which he and his ancestors, without giving any offence, had always made use of, in the face of the court and of the whole nation. Courtney soon after received the title of earl of Devonshire; and though educated in such close confinement, that he was altogether unacquainted with the world, he soon acquired all the accomplishments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a considerable figure during the few years, which he lived after he recovered his liberty ²¹. Besides performing all those popular acts, which, though they only affected individuals, were very acceptable to the nation, the queen endeavoured to ingratiate herself with the public, by granting a general pardon, though with some exceptions, and by remitting the subsidy voted to her brother by the last parliament ²².

THE joy arising from the succession of the lawful heir, and from the gracious demeanour of the sovereign, hindered not the people from being agitated with great anxiety concerning the state of religion; and as the bulk of the nation inclined to the protestant communion, the apprehensions, entertained concerning the principles and prejudices of the new queen, were pretty general. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had

²¹ Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 246, 247.

²² Stowe, p. 616.

C H A P. appeared to be somewhat connected with the
 XXXVI. papal authority; and that princess, being educated
 1553. with her mother, had imbibed the strongest attachment to the catholic communion, and the highest aversion to those new tenets, whence, she believed, all the misfortunes of her family had originally sprung. The discouragements, which she lay under from her father, though at last they brought her to comply with his will, tended still more to increase her disgust to the reformers; and the vexations, which the protector and the council gave her, during Edward's reign, had no other effect than to confirm her farther in her prejudices. Naturally of a sour and obstinate temper, and irritated by contradiction and misfortunes, she possessed all the qualities fitted to compose a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reason to dread, not only the abolition, but the persecution of the established religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long ere she discovered her intentions.

Catholic re-
 ligion re-
 stored.

GARDINER, Bonner, Tonstal, Day, Heath, and Vesey, were reinstated in their sees, either by a direct act of power, or, what is nearly the same, by the sentence of commissioners, appointed to review their trial and condemnation. Though the bishopric of Durham had been dissolved by authority of parliament, the queen erected it a-new by letters-patent, and replaced Tonstal in

his regalities as well as in his revenue. On pretence of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular licence; and it was easy to foresee, that none but the catholics would be favored with this privilege. Holgate, archbishop of York, Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Gloucester, were thrown into prison; whither old Latimer also was sent soon after. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws. Judge Hales, who had discovered such constancy in defending the queen's title, lost all his merit by an opposition to those illegal practices; and being committed to custody, was treated with such severity, that he fell into frenzy, and killed himself. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten; because they presumed to plead the promise, which the queen, when they enlisted themselves in her service, had given them, of maintaining the reformed religion: One, in particular, was set in the pillory, because he had been too peremptory, in recalling to her memory the engagements which she had taken on that occasion. And though the queen still promised, in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate those who differed from her, men foresaw, that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble security, when set in opposition to religious prejudices.

THE merits of Cranmer towards the queen,

C H A P.

XXXVI.

1553.

C H A P. during the reign of Henry had been considerable;
 XXXVI. and he had successfully employed his good offices
 1553. in mitigating the severe prejudices which that
 monarch had entertained against her. But the
 active part, which he had borne in promoting
 her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting
 the reformation, had made him the object of her
 hatred; and though Gardiner had been equally
 forward in soliciting and defending the divorce,
 he had afterwards made sufficient atonement, by
 his sufferings in defence of the catholic cause. The
 primate, therefore, had reason to expect little
 favor during the present reign; but it was by
 his own indiscreet zeal, that he brought on
 himself the first violence and persecution. A
 report being spread, that Cranmer, in order to
 pay court to the queen, had promised to officiate
 in the Latin service, the archbishop, to wipe off
 this aspersions, published a manifesto in his own
 defence. Among other expressions, he there said,
 that, as the devil was a liar from the beginning,
 and the father of lies, he had at this time stirred
 up his servants to persecute Christ and his true
 religion: That this infernal spirit now endeavoured
 to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of
 his own invention and device; and in order to
 effect his purpose, had falsely made use of Cranmer's
 name and authority: And that the mass is not
 only without foundation, either in the Scriptures
 or in the practice of the primitive church, but
 likewise discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity
 and the inspired writings, and is besides replete

with many horrid blasphemies ²³. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which he had acted, in concurring with the lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him; and though his guilt was shared with the whole privy council, and was even less than that of the greater part of them, this sentence, however severe, must be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, however, did not follow; and Cranmer was reserved for a more cruel punishment.

C H A P.

XXXVI.

1553.

PETER MARTYR, seeing a persecution gathering against the reformers, desired leave to withdraw ²⁴; and while some zealous catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner both pleaded, that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and generously furnished him with supplies for his journey: But as bigotted zeal still increased, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public orders, and buried in a dunghill ²⁵. The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge ²⁶. John A-lasco was first silenced, then ordered to depart the kingdom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign protestants followed

²³ Fox, vol. iii. p. 94. Heylin, p. 25. Goodwin, p. 336. Burnet, vol. ii. Coll. N^o 8. Cranm. Mem. p. 305. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 3. ²⁴ Heylin, p. 26. Goodwin, p. 336. Cranm. Mem. p. 317. ²⁵ Heylin, p. 26. ²⁶ Saunders de Schism. Anglic.

C H A P. him; and the nation thereby lost many useful
 XXXVI. hands for arts and manufactures. Several English
 1553. protestants also took shelter in foreign parts; and
 every thing bore a dismal aspect for the reforma-
 tion.

5th Oct.
 A parliament.

DURING this revolution of the court, no protection was expected by protestants from the parliament, which was summoned to assemble. A zealous reformer ²⁷ pretends, that great violence and iniquity were used in the elections; but besides that the authority of this writer is inconsiderable, that practice, as the necessities of government seldom required it, had not hitherto been often employed in England. There still remained such numbers devoted, by opinion or affection, to many principles of the ancient religion, that the authority of the crown was able to give such candidates the preference in most elections; and all those, who hesitated to comply with the court religion, rather declined taking a seat, which, while it rendered them obnoxious to the queen, could afterwards afford them no protection against the violence of prerogative. It soon appeared, therefore, that a majority of the commons would be obsequious to Mary's designs; and as the peers were mostly attached to the court, from interest or expectations, little opposition was expected from that quarter.

²⁷ Beale. But Fox, who lived at the time, and is very minute in his narratives, says nothing of the matter. See vol. iii. p. 16.

IN opening the parliament, the court showed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating, before the two houses, a mass of the Holy Ghost, in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament²⁸. Taylor bishop of Lincoln having refused to kneel at this service, was severely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house²⁹. The queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuses of popery, which were the most grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1553.

THE first bill, passed by the parliament, was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason, not contained in the statute of Edward III. and every species of felony, that did not subsist before the first of Henry VIII³⁰. The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer³¹, whom they greatly blamed on that account. No mention, however, is made of the pope's authority, as any ground

²⁸ Fox, vol. iii. p. 19. ²⁹ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 252.

³⁰ Mariæ, sess. i. c. 1. By this repeal, though it was in general popular, the clause of 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 11. was lost, which required the confronting of two witnesses, in order to prove any treason. ³¹ Mariæ, sess. 2. c. 1.

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1553.

of the marriage. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote ³². The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reversed; and this act of justice was more reasonable than the declaring of that attainder invalid, without farther authority. Many clauses of the riot act, passed in the late reign, were revived: A step which eluded, in a great measure, the popular statute enacted at the first meeting of parliament.

NOTWITHSTANDING the compliance of the two houses with the queen's inclinations, they had still a reserve in certain articles; and her choice of a husband, in particular, was of such importance to national interest, that they were determined not to submit tamely, in that respect, to her will and pleasure. There were three marriages ³³, concerning which it was supposed that Mary had deliberated after her accession. The first person proposed to her, was Courtney, earl of Devonshire, who, being an Englishman, nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being acceptable to the nation; and as he was of an engaging person and address, he had visibly gained on the queen's affections ³⁴, and hints were dropped him of her favorable dispositions towards him ³⁵. But that nobleman neglected these overtures; and seemed rather to attach

³² 1 Mariæ, sess. 2. c. 1. ³³ Thuan. lib. ii. c. 3.

³⁴ Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 147. 163. 214, 215. vol. iii. p. 27. ³⁵ Goodwin, p. 339.

himself

himself to the lady Elizabeth, whose youth and agreeable conversation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her sister. This choice occasioned a great coldness in Mary towards Devonshire; and made her break out in a declared animosity against Elizabeth. The ancient quarrel between their mothers had sunk deep into the malignant heart of the queen; and after the declaration made by parliament in favor of Catherine's marriage, she wanted not a pretence for representing the birth of her sister as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and as the young princess had made some difficulty in disguising her sentiments, violent menaces had been employed to bring her to compliance³⁶. But when the queen found, that Elizabeth had obstructed her views in a point, which, perhaps, touched her still more nearly, her resentment, excited by pride, no longer knew any bounds; and the princess was visibly exposed to the greatest danger³⁷.

CARDINAL POLE, who had never taken priest's orders, was another party proposed to the queen; and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and humanity; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the highest dignity on the

³⁶ Dép. de Noailles, vol. ii. passim.

³⁷ Heylin, p. 31. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 255.

C H A P. death of Paul III. ³⁸; the queen's affection for
 XXXVI. the countess of Salisbury, his mother, who had
 1553* once been her governess; the violent animosity
 to which he had been exposed on account of his
 attachment to the Romish communion; all these
 considerations had a powerful influence on Mary.
 But the cardinal was now in the decline of life;
 and having contracted habits of study and retire-
 ment, he was represented to her as unqualified
 for the bustle of a court, and the hurry of busi-
 ness ³⁹. The queen, therefore, dropped all thoughts
 of that alliance: But as she entertained a great
 regard for Pole's wisdom and virtue, she still
 intended to reap the benefit of his counsel in the
 administration of her government. She secretly
 entered into a negociation with Commendone,
 an agent of cardinal Dandino, legate at Brussels;
 she sent assurances to the pope, then Julius III.
 of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her
 kingdoms to the holy see; and she desired that
 Pole might be appointed legate for the perform-
 ance of that pious office ⁴⁰.

THESE two marriages being rejected, the queen
 cast her eye towards the emperor's family, from
 which her mother was descended, and which,
 during her own distresses, had always afforded
 her countenance and protection. Charles V. who
 a few years before was almost absolute master of
 Germany, had exercised his power in such an

³⁸ Father Paul, book iii.

³⁹ Heylin, p. 31.

⁴⁰ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 258.

arbitrary manner, that he gave extreme disgust to the nation, who apprehended the total extinction of their liberties from the encroachments of that monarch ⁴¹. Religion had served him as a pretence for his usurpations; and from the same principle he met with that opposition, which overthrew his grandeur, and dashed all his ambitious hopes. Maurice, elector of Saxony, enraged that the landgrave of Hesse, who, by his advice, and on his assurances, had put himself into the emperor's hands, should be unjustly detained a prisoner, formed a secret conspiracy among the protestant princes; and covering his intentions with the most artful disguises, he suddenly marched his forces against Charles, and narrowly missed becoming master of his person. The protestants flew to arms in every quarter; and their insurrection, aided by an invasion from France, reduced the emperor to such difficulties, that he was obliged to submit to terms of peace, which ensured the independence of Germany. To retrieve his honor, he made an attack on France; and laying siege to Metz, with an army of a hundred thousand men, he conducted the enterprise in person, and seemed determined, at all hazards, to succeed in an undertaking which had fixed the attention of Europe. But the duke of Guise, who defended Metz, with a garrison composed of the bravest nobility of France, exerted such vigilance, conduct, and valor, that

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1553.

⁴¹ Thuanus, lib. iv. c. 17.

C H A P. the siege was protracted to the depth of winter ;
XXXVI. and the emperor found it dangerous to persevere
1553. any longer. He retired with the remains of his
army into the Low Countries, much dejected
with that reverse of fortune, which, in his
declining years, had so fatally overtaken him.

No sooner did Charles hear of the death of Edward, and the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the scheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped, by this incident, to balance all the losses which he had sustained in Germany. His son Philip was a widower; and though he was only twenty-seven years of age, eleven years younger than the queen, this objection, it was thought, would be overlooked, and there was no reason to despair of her still having a numerous issue. The emperor, therefore, immediately sent over an agent to signify his intentions to Mary, who, pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herself more closely with her mother's family, to which she was ever strongly attached, readily embraced the proposal. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, gave their advice for the match: And Gardiner, who was become prime minister, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, seconded the project of the Spanish alliance. At the same time, he represented, both to her and the emperor, the necessity of stopping all farther innovations in

religion, till the completion of the marriage. He observed, that the parliament, amidst all their compliances, had discovered evident symptoms of jealousy, and seemed at present determined to grant no farther concessions in favor of the catholic religion: That though they might make a sacrifice to their sovereign of some speculative principles, which they did not well comprehend, or of some rites, which seemed not of any great moment, they had imbibed such strong prejudices against the pretended usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome, that they would with great difficulty be again brought to submit to its authority: That the danger of resuming the abbey lands would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepossessions, which were but too general among the people, against the doctrine and worship of the catholic church: That much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance; and if that point were urged, at the same time with farther changes in religion, it would hazard a general revolt and insurrection: That the marriage, being once completed, would give authority to the queen's measures, and enable her afterwards to forward the pious work, in which she was engaged: And that it was even necessary previously to reconcile the people to the marriage, by rendering the conditions extremely favorable to the English, and such as would seem to ensure to them their independ-

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1553.

C H A P. XXXVI. 1553. ence, and the entire possession of their ancient laws and privileges ⁴².

1553.

THE emperor, well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, assented to all these reasons; and he endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary, by representing the necessity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Hearing that cardinal Pole, more sincere in his religious opinions, and less guided by the maxims of human policy, after having sent contrary advice to the queen, had set out on his journey to England, where he was to exercise his legantine commission; he thought proper to stop him at Dillengen, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's consent for this detention. The negociation for the marriage mean-while proceeded apace; and Mary's intentions of espousing Philip became generally known to the nation. The commons, who hoped that they had gained the queen by the concessions which they had already made, were alarmed to hear, that she was resolved to contract a foreign alliance; and they sent a committee to remonstrate in strong terms, against that dangerous measure. To prevent farther applications of the same kind, she thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

6th Dec.

A CONVOCATION had been summoned at the same time with the parliament; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion.

⁴² Burnet, vol. ii. p. 261.

An offer was very frankly made by the Romanists, to dispute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and as transubstantiation was the article, which, of all others, they deemed the clearest, and founded on the most irresistible arguments, they chose to try their strength by defending it. The protestants pushed the dispute as far as the clamor and noise of their antagonists would permit; and they fondly imagined, that they had obtained some advantage, when, in the course of the debate, they obliged the catholics to avow, that, according to their doctrine, Christ had, in his last supper, held himself in his hand, and had swallowed and eaten himself ⁴³. This triumph, however, was confined only to their own party: The Romanists maintained, that *their* champions had clearly the better of the day; that their adversaries were blind and obstinate heretics; that nothing but the most extreme depravity of heart could induce men to contest such self-evident principles; and that the severest punishments were due to their perverse wickedness. So pleased were they with their superiority in this favorite point, that they soon after renewed the dispute at Oxford; and to show, that they feared no force of learning or abilities, where reason was so evidently on their side, they sent thither Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, under a guard, to try whether these renowned controver-

C H A P.

XXXVI.

1553.

⁴³ Collier, vol. ii. p. 356. Fox, vol. iii. p. 22.

C H A P. XXXVI. sialists could find any appearance of argument to defend their baffled principles⁴⁴. The issue of the debate was very different from what it appeared to be a few years before, in a famous conference, held at the same place, during the reign of Edward.

1554.

AFTER the parliament and convocation were dismissed, the new laws with regard to religion, though they had been anticipated, in most places, by the zeal of the catholics, countenanced by government, were still more openly put in execution: The mass was every where re-established; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office. It has been asserted by some writers, that three fourths of the clergy were, at this time, deprived of their livings; though other historians, more accurate⁴⁵, have estimated the number of sufferers to be far short of this proportion. A visitation was appointed, in order to restore more perfectly the mass and the ancient rites. Among other articles, the commissioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of supremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice⁴⁶. It is to be observed, that this oath had been established by the laws of Henry VIII. which were still in force.

Queen's
marriage
with Philip.

THIS violent and sudden change of religion inspired the protestants with great discontent; and

⁴⁴ Mem. Cranm. p. 354. Heylin, p. 50. ⁴⁵ Harmer, p. 138.
⁴⁶ Collier, vol. ii. p. 364. Fox, vol. iii. p. 38. Heylin, p. 35.
Sleidan, lib. 25.

even affected indifferent spectators with concern, by the hardships, to which so many individuals were on that account exposed. But the Spanish match was a point of more general concern, and diffused universal apprehensions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamor, the articles of marriage were drawn as favorable as possible for the interest and security, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed, that, though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that sixty thousand pounds a year should be settled as her jointure; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that, if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die and his line be extinct, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip ⁴⁷. Such was the treaty of marriage signed by count Egmont, and three other ambassadors sent over to England by the emperor ⁴⁸.

C H A P.

XXXVI.

1554.

15th Jan.

⁴⁷ Rymer, xv. p. 377.

⁴⁸ Dépêches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 299.

C H A P.

XXXVI.

1554.

THESE articles, when published, gave no satisfaction to the nation: It was universally said, that the emperor, in order to get possession of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and the greater advantage there appeared in the conditions which he granted, the more certainly might it be concluded, that he had no serious intention of observing them: That the usual fraud and ambition of that monarch might assure the nation of such a conduct; and his son Philip, while he inherited these vices from his father, added to them tyranny, fullness, pride, and barbarity, more dangerous vices of his own: That England would become a province, and a province to a kingdom which usually exercised the most violent authority over all her dependent dominions: That the Netherlands, Milan, Sicily, Naples groaned under the burthen of Spanish tyranny; and throughout all the new conquests in America there had been displayed scenes of unrelenting cruelty, hitherto unknown in the history of mankind: That the inquisition was a tribunal invented by that tyrannical nation; and would infallibly, with all their other laws and institutions, be introduced into England: And that the divided sentiments of the people with regard to religion would subject multitudes to this iniquitous tribunal, and would reduce the whole nation to the most abject servitude⁴⁹.

THESE complaints being diffused every where,

⁴⁹ Heylin, p. 32. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 268. Goodwin, p. 339.

prepared the people for a rebellion; and had any foreign power given them encouragement, or any great man appeared to head them, the consequences might have proved fatal to the queen's authority. But the king of France, though engaged in hostilities with the emperor, refused to concur in any proposal for an insurrection, lest he should afford Mary a pretence for declaring war against him⁵⁰. And the more prudent part of the nobility thought, that, as the evils of the Spanish alliance were only dreaded at a distance, matters were not yet fully prepared for a general revolt. Some persons, however, more turbulent than the rest, believed, that it would be safer to prevent than to redress grievances; and they formed a conspiracy to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyatt purposed to raise Kent, Sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to attempt raising the midland counties⁵¹. Carew's impatience or apprehensions engaged him to break the concert, and to rise in arms before the day appointed: He was soon suppressed by the earl of Bedford, and constrained to fly into France. On this intelligence, Suffolk, dreading an arrest, suddenly left the town, with his brothers, lord Thomas, and lord Leonard Gray; and endeavoured to raise the people in the counties of Warwick and Leicester; where his interest lay: But he was so

C H A P.

XXXVI.

1554.

Wyat's insurrection.

⁵⁰ Dépêches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 249. vol. iii. p. 17. 58.

⁵¹ Heylin, p. 33. Goodwin, p. 340.

C H A P. closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, at
 XXXVI. the head of 300 horse, that he was obliged to
 1554. disperse his followers, and being discovered in
 his concealment, he was carried prisoner to London⁵². Wyatt was at first more successful in his attempt; and having published a declaration at Maidstone in Kent, against the queen's evil counsellors and against the Spanish match, without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his standard. The duke of Norfolk with Sir Henry Jernegean was sent against him, at the head of the guards and some other troops, reinforced with 500 Londoners commanded by Bret. And he came within sight of the rebels at Rochester, where they had fixed their head-quarters. Sir George Harper here pretended to desert from them; but having secretly gained Bret, these two malecontents so wrought on the Londoners, that the whole body deserted to Wyatt, and declared that they would not contribute to enslave their native country. Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, immediately retreated with his troops, and took shelter in the city⁵³.

AFTER this proof of the dispositions of the people, especially of the Londoners, who were mostly protestants, Wyatt was encouraged to proceed: He led his forces to Southwark, where he required of the queen, that she should put the Tower into his hands, should deliver four coun-

⁵² Fox, vol. iii. p. 30. ⁵³ Heylin, p. 33. Goodwin, p. 341. Stowe, p. 619. Baker, p. 318. Hollingshed, p. 1094.

C H A P.

XXXVI.

1554.

6th Feb.

Insurrection
suppressed.

fellors as hostages, and in order to ensure the liberty of the nation, should immediately marry an Englishman. Finding that the bridge was secured against him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingston, where he passed the river with 4000 men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partisans, who had engaged to declare for him. He had imprudently wasted so much time at Southwark, and in his march from Kingston, that the critical season, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely lost: Though he entered Westminster without resistance, his followers, finding that no person of note joined him, insensibly fell off, and he was at last seized near Temple-Bar by Sir Maurice Berkeley⁵⁴. Four hundred persons are said to have suffered for this rebellion⁵⁵: Four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and falling on their knees, received a pardon, and were dismissed. Wyat was condemned and executed: As it had been reported, that, on his examination, he had accused the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire as accomplices, he took care on the scaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any share in his rebellion.

THE lady Elizabeth had been, during some time, treated with great harshness by her sister;

⁵⁴ Fox, vol. iii. p. 31. Heylin, p. 34. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 270. Stowe, p. 621.

⁵⁵ Dépêches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 124.

C H A P. and many studied instances of discouragement and
 XXXVI. disrespect had been practised against her. She was
 1554. ordered to take place at court after the countess
 of Lenox and the dutchess of Suffolk, as if she
 were not legitimate ⁵⁶: Her friends were dis-
 countenanced on every occasion: And while her
 virtues, which were now become eminent, drew
 to her the attendance of all the young nobility,
 and rendered her the favorite of the nation ⁵⁷,
 the malevolence of the queen still discovered itself
 every day by fresh symptoms, and obliged the
 princess to retire into the country. Mary seized
 the opportunity of this rebellion; and hoping to
 involve her sister in some appearance of guilt, sent
 for her under a strong guard, committed her to
 the Tower, and ordered her to be strictly examined
 by the council. But the public declaration made
 by Wyatt rendered it impracticable to employ
 against her any false evidence, which might have
 offered; and the princess made so good a defence,
 that the queen found herself under a necessity of
 releasing her ⁵⁸. In order to send her out of the
 kingdom, a marriage was offered her with the
 duke of Savoy; and when she declined the pro-
 posal, she was committed to custody, under a
 strong guard, at Woodstock ⁵⁹. The earl of
 Devonshire, though equally innocent, was con-
 fined in Fotheringay castle.

⁵⁶ Dépêches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 273. 288. ⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 273.

⁵⁸ Goodwin, p. 343. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 273. Fox,
 vol. iii. p. 99. 105. Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 85.

⁵⁹ Dépêches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 226.

BUT this rebellion proved still more fatal to the lady Jane Gray, as well as to her husband: The duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and though the rebels and malecontents seemed chiefly to rest their hopes on the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, the queen, incapable of generosity or clemency, determined to remove every person from whom the least danger could be apprehended. Warning was given the lady Jane to prepare for death; a doom which she had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes, to which she had been exposed, rendered nowise unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under color of tender mercy to the prisoner's soul, induced her to send divines, who harassed her with perpetual disputation; and even a reprieve for three days was granted her, in hopes that she would be persuaded, during that time, to pay, by a timely conversion, some regard to her eternal welfare. The lady Jane had presence of mind, in those melancholy circumstances, not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in use, but also to write a letter to her sister⁶⁰ in the Greek language; in which, besides sending her a copy of the Scriptures in that tongue, she exhorted her to maintain in every fortune, a like steady perseverance. On the day of her execution, her husband, lord Guilford, desired permission to see her; but she refused her consent, and inform-

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1554.

12th Feb.

⁶⁰ Fox, vol. iii. p. 35. Heylin, p. 166.

C H A P. ed him by a message, that the tenderness of their
 XXXVI. parting would overcome the fortitude of both,
 1554. and would too much unbend their minds from
 that constancy, which their approaching end re-
 quired of them: Their separation, she said,
 would be only for a moment; and they would
 soon rejoin each other in a scene, where their
 affections would be for ever united, and where
 death, disappointment, and misfortunes could
 no longer have access to them, or disturb their
 eternal felicity⁶¹.

Execution
 of lady Jane
 Gray.

It had been intended to execute the lady Jane
 and lord Guilford together on the same scaffold
 at Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the
 compassion of the people for their youth, beauty,
 innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders,
 and gave directions that she should be beheaded
 within the verge of the Tower. She saw her
 husband led to execution; and having given him
 from the window some token of her remembrance,
 she waited with tranquillity till her own appoint-
 ed hour should bring her to a like fate. She
 even saw his headless body carried back in a
 cart; and found herself more confirmed by the
 reports, which she heard of the constancy of his
 end, than shaken by so tender and melancholy
 a spectacle. Sir John Gage, constable of the
 Tower, when he led her to execution, desired
 her to bestow on him some small present which
 he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her:

⁶¹ Heylin, p. 167. Baker, p. 319.

She

She gave him her table-book, on which she had just written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body ; one in Greek , another in Latin , a third in English⁶². The purport of them was , that human justice was against his body , but divine mercy would be favorable to his soul ; that , if her fault deserved punishment , her youth at least , and her imprudence were worthy of excuse ; and that God and posterity , she trusted , would show her favor. On the scaffold , she made a speech to the by-standers ; in which the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame wholly on herself , without uttering one complaint against the severity , with which she had been treated. She said , that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown , but the not rejecting it with sufficient constancy : That she had less erred through ambition than through reverence to her parents , whom she had been taught to respect and obey : That she willingly received death , as the only satisfaction , which she could now make to the injured state ; and though her infringement of the laws had been constrained , she would show , by her voluntary submission to their sentence , that she was desirous to atone for that disobedience , into which too much filial piety had betrayed her : That she had justly deserved this punishment for being made the instrument , though the unwilling instrument , of the ambition of others : And that the story of her

C H A P.

XXXVI.

1554.

⁶² Heylin , p. 167.

C H A P. life, she hoped, might at least be useful, by prov-
 XXXVI. ing that innocence excused not great misdeeds, if
 1554. they tend any wise to the destruction of the com-
 monwealth. After uttering these words, she
 caused herself to be disrobed by her women;
 and with a steady serene countenance submitted
 herself to the executioner⁶³.

THE duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned,
 and executed soon after; and would have met
 with more compassion, had not his temerity been
 the cause of his daughter's untimely end. Lord
 Thomas Gray lost his life for the same crime.
 Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall;
 but there appearing no satisfactory evidence against
 him, he was able, by making an admirable de-
 fence, to obtain a verdict of the jury in his
 favor. The queen was so enraged at this dis-
 appointment, that, instead of releasing him as
 the law required, she re-committed him to the
 Tower, and kept him in close confinement during
 some time. But her resentment stopped not here:
 The jury, being summoned before the council,
 were all sent to prison, and afterwards fined,
 some of them a thousand pounds, others two
 thousand a-piece⁶⁴. This violence proved fatal
 to several; among others to Sir John Throg-
 morton, brother to Sir Nicholas, who was con-

⁶³ Heylin, p. 167. Fox, vol. iii. p. 36, 37. Hol-
 lingshed, p. 1099.

⁶⁴ Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Stowe, p. 624. Baker, p.
 320. Hollingshed, p. 1104. 1121. Strype, vol. iii.
 p. 120. Dép. de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 173.

demned on no better evidence than had formerly been rejected. The queen filled the Tower and all the prisons with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation, rather than any appearance of guilt, had made the objects of her suspicion. And finding, that she was universally hated, she determined to disable the people from resistance, by ordering general musters, and directing the commissioners to seize their arms, and lay them up in forts and castles⁶⁵.

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1554.

THOUGH the government labored under so general an odium, the queen's authority had received such an increase from the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion, that the ministry hoped to find a compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was summoned to assemble. The emperor, also, in order to facilitate the same end, had borrowed no less a sum than 400,000 crowns, which he had sent over to England, to be distributed in bribes and pensions among the members: A pernicious practice, of which there had not hitherto been any instance in England. And not to give the public any alarm with regard to the church lands, the queen, notwithstanding her bigotry, resumed her title of supreme head of the church, which she had dropped three months before. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the session by a speech; in which he asserted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right of chusing a husband for herself; ob-

A parlia-
ment.
5th April.

⁶⁵ Dép. de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 98.

C H A P. served how proper a use she had made of that
 XXXVI. right, by giving the preference to an old ally,
 1554. descended from the house of Burgundy; and re-
 marked the failure of Henry VIII's posterity, of
 whom there now remained none but the queen
 and the lady Elizabeth. He added, that, in order
 to obviate the inconveniences, which might
 arise from different pretenders, it was necessary
 to invest the queen, by law, with a power of
 disposing of the crown, and of appointing her
 successor: A power, he said, which was not to
 be thought unprecedented in England, since it
 had formerly been conferred on Henry VIII “.

THE parliament was much disposed to gratify
 the queen in all her desires; but when the liberty,
 independence, and very being of the nation
 were in such visible danger, they could not by
 any means be brought to compliance. They
 knew both the inveterate hatred, which she bore
 to the lady Elizabeth, and her devoted attach-
 ment to the house of Austria: They were ac-
 quainted with her extreme bigotry, which would
 lead her to postpone all considerations of justice or
 national interest to the establishment of the catholic
 religion: They remarked, that Gardiner had care-
 fully avoided, in his speech, the giving to Eliza-
 beth the appellation of the queen's sister; and
 they thence concluded, that a design was formed
 of excluding her as illegitimate: They expected,
 that Mary, if invested with such a power as she

“ *Dépêches de Noailles.*

required, would make a will in her husband's favor, and thereby render England for ever a province to the Spanish monarchy: And they were the more alarmed with these projects, as they heard, that Philip's descent from the house of Lancaster was carefully insisted on, and that he was publicly represented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

THE parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a distance from the precipice, which lay before them. They could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage⁶⁷, which were drawn very favorable for England; but they declined the passing of any such law as the chancellor pointed out to them: They would not so much as declare it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband, while she was alive; and a bill introduced for that purpose, was laid aside after the first reading. The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of possessing any authority in England, they passed a law, in which they declared, "that her majesty
" as their only queen, should solely and as a sole
" queen, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of
" her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities,
" and rights thereto belonging, in as large and
" ample a manner after her marriage as before,
" without any title or claim accruing to the
" prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtesy
" of the realm, or by any other means⁶⁸."

⁶⁷ 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 2.

⁶⁸ Ibid. cap. 1.

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1554.

A LAW passed in this parliament for re-erecting the bishopric of Durham, which had been dissolved by the last parliament of Edward⁶. The queen had already, by an exertion of her power, put Tonstal in possession of that see: But though it was usual at that time for the crown to assume authority which might seem entirely legislative, it was always deemed more safe and satisfactory to procure the sanction of parliament. Bills were introduced for suppressing heterodox opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the six articles, together with those against the Lollards, and against heresy and erroneous preaching: But none of these laws could pass the two houses. A proof, that the parliament had reserves even in their concessions with regard to religion; about which they seem to have been less scrupulous. The queen, therefore, finding that they would not serve all her purposes, finished the session by dissolving them.

5th May.

MARY's thoughts were now entirely employed about receiving Don Philip, whose arrival she hourly expected. This princess, who had lived so many years in a very reserved and private manner, without any prospect or hopes of a husband, was so smitten with affection for her young consort, whom she had never seen, that she waited with the utmost impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obstacle was to her a source of anxiety and discontent⁷.

⁶ 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 3. ⁷ Strype, vol. iii. p. 125.

She complained of Philip's delays as affected ; and she could not conceal her vexation , that , though she brought him a kingdom as her dowry , he treated her with such neglect , that he had never yet favored her with a single letter ⁷¹. Her fondness was but the more increased by this supercilious treatment ; and when she found that her subjects had entertained the greatest aversion for the event , to which she directed her fondest wishes , she made the whole English nation the object of her resentment. A squadron , under the command of lord Effingham , had been fitted out to convoy Philip from Spain , where he then resided ; but the admiral informing her , that the discontents ran very high among the seamen , and that it was not safe for Philip to intrust himself in their hands , she gave orders to dismiss them ⁷². She then dreaded , lest the French fleet , being masters of the sea , might intercept her husband ; and every rumor of danger , every blast of wind , threw her into panics and convulsions. Her health , and even her understanding , were visibly hurt by this extreme impatience ; and she was struck with a new apprehension , lest her person , impaired by time , and blasted by sickness , should prove disagreeable to her future consort. Her glass discovered to her how haggard she was become ; and when she remarked the decay of her beauty , she knew not whether she ought more to desire or apprehend the arrival of Philip ⁷³.

⁷¹ Dépêches de Noailles , vol. iii. p. 248. ⁷² Ibid. p. 220.

⁷³ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 222. 252, 253.

C H A P. XXXVI. 1554. 19th July. Philip's arrival in England.
 AT last came the moment so impatiently expected; and news was brought the queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton ⁷⁴. A few days after, they were married in Westminster; and having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great ostentation, she carried him to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards resided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices; which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and reserved in his address; took no notice of the salutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so intrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inaccessible ⁷⁵: But this circumstance rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who desired to have no company but her husband's, and who was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondness. The shortest absence gave her vexation; and when he showed civilities to any other woman, she could not conceal her jealousy and resentment.

MARY soon found, that Philip's ruling passion was ambition; and that the only method of gratifying him and securing his affections, was

⁷⁴ Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 392. Goodwin, p. 345. We are told by Sir William Monson, p. 225, that the admiral of England fired at the Spanish navy, when Philip was on board; because they had not lowered their topfails, as a mark of deference to the English navy in the narrow seas. A very spirited behaviour, and very unlike those times. ⁷⁵ Baker, p. 320.

to render him master of England. The interest and liberty of her people were considerations of small moment, in comparison of her obtaining this favorite point. She summoned a new parliament, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant; and that she might acquire the greater authority over them, she imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters directing a proper choice of members⁷⁶. The zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly of the protestants; all these causes, seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a house of commons, which was, in a great measure, to her satisfaction; and it was thought, from the disposition of the nation, that she might now safely omit, on her assembling the parliament, the title of *supreme head of the church*, though inseparably annexed by law to the crown of England⁷⁷. Cardinal Pole had arrived in Flanders, invested with legantine powers from the pope: In order to prepare the way for his arrival in England, the parliament passed an act, reversing his attainder, and restoring his blood; and the queen, dispensing with the old statute of provisors, granted him permission to act as legate. The cardinal came over; and after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1554.

12th Nov.

⁷⁶ Mem. of Cranm. p. 344. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 154, 155.
⁷⁷ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 291. Strype, vol. iii. p. 155.

C H A P. XXXVI. 1554. reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see, from which they had been so long and so unhappily divided. This message was taken in good part; and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; professing a sincere repentance of their past transgressions; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome; and praying their majesties, that, since they were happily uninfected with that criminal schism, they would intercede with the holy father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects⁷⁸. The request was easily granted. The legate, in the name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution; freed them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church. The pope, then Julius III. being informed of these transactions, said, that it was an unexampled instance of his felicity, to receive thanks from the English, for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing⁷⁹.

NOTWITHSTANDING the extreme zeal of those times, for and against popery, the object always uppermost with the nobility and gentry, was their money and estates: They were not brought to make these concessions in favor of Rome, till they had received repeated assurances, from the pope

⁷⁸ Fox, vol. iii. p. 3. Heylin, p. 42. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 293. Goodwin, p. 247. ⁷⁹ Father Paul, lib. iv.

as well as the queen, that the plunder, which they had made on the ecclesiastics, should never be inquired into; and that the abbey and church lands should remain with the present possessors⁸⁰. But not trusting altogether to these promises, the parliament took care, in the law itself⁸¹, by which they repealed the former statutes enacted against the pope's authority, to insert a clause, in which, besides bestowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the schism, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave security to the possessors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of ecclesiastical censures. The convocation also, in order to remove apprehensions on that head, were induced to present a petition to the same purpose⁸²; and the legate, in his master's name, ratified all these transactions. It now appeared, that, notwithstanding the efforts of the queen and king, the power of the papacy was effectually suppressed in England, and invincible barriers fixed against its re-establishment. For though the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics was, for the present, restored, their property, on which their power much depended, was irretrievably lost, and no hopes remained of recovering it. Even these arbitrary, powerful, and bigotted princes, while the transactions were yet recent, could not regain to the church her possessions so lately

C H A P. •
XXXVI.
1554.

⁸⁰ Heylin, p. 41.

⁸¹ 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8.

⁸² Heylin, p. 43. 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8. Strype, vol. iii. p. 159.

C H A P. ravished from her ; and no expedients were left
 XXXVI. to the clergy for enriching themselves , but those
 1554. which they had at first practised , and which had
 required many ages of ignorance , barbarism , and
 superstition , to produce their effect on mankind ⁸³.

THE parliament , having secured their own possessions , were more indifferent with regard to religion , or even to the lives of their fellow-citizens : They revived the old sanguinary laws against heretics ⁸⁴ , which had been rejected in the former parliament : They also enacted several statutes against seditious words and rumors ⁸⁵ ; and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip , during his marriage with the queen ⁸⁶. Each parliament hitherto had been induced to go a step farther than their predecessors ; but none of them had entirely lost all regard to national interests. Their hatred against the Spaniards , as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions , still prevailed ; and though the queen attempted to get her husband declared presumptive heir of the crown , and to have the administration put into his hands : she failed in all her endeavours , and could not so much as procure the parliament's consent to his coronation ⁸⁷. All attempts likewise to obtain subsidies from the commons , in order to support the emperor in his war against France , proved fruitless : The usual animosity

⁸³ See note [D] at the end of the volume.

⁸⁴ 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 6. ⁸⁵ Ibid. c. 3. 9.

⁸⁶ Ibid. c. 10. ⁸⁷ Goodwin , p. 348. Baker , p. 322.

and jealousy of the English against that kingdom, C H A P. XXXVI. 1554.
 seemed to have given place, for the present, to like passions against Spain. Philip, sensible of the prepossessions entertained against him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction; lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Edmond Warner, Sir William St. Lo, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Tremain, who had been confined from the suspicions or resentment of the court⁸⁸. But nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the spite and malice of the queen, and restoring her to liberty.

THIS measure was not the effect of any generosity in Philip, a sentiment of which he was wholly destitute; but of a refined policy, which made him foresee, that, if that princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France. The earl of Devonshire also reaped some benefit from Philip's affectation of popularity, and recovered his liberty: But that nobleman, finding himself exposed to suspicion, begged permission to travel⁸⁹; and he soon after died at Padua, from poison, as is pretended, given him by the Imperialists. He was the eleventh and last earl of Devonshire of

⁸⁸ Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 287. Stowe, p. 626. Dépêches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 146, 147.

⁸⁹ Heylin, p. 40. Goodwin, p. 349.

C H A P. that noble family, one of the most illustrious in
xxxvi. Europe.

1554.

THE queen's extreme desire of having issue, had made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, she fancied, that she felt the embryo stir in her womb⁹⁰. Her flatterers compared this motion of the infant to that of John the Baptist, who leaped in his mother's belly at the salutation of the virgin⁹¹. Dispatches were immediately sent to inform foreign courts of this event: Orders were issued to give public thanks: Great rejoicings were made: The family of the young prince was already settled⁹²; for the catholics held themselves assured that the child was to be a male: And Bonner, bishop of London, made public prayers be said; that Heaven would please to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation still remained somewhat incredulous; and men were persuaded, that the queen labored under infirmities, which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropsy, which the disordered state of her health had brought upon her. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was upheld with all possible care; and was one artifice, by which Philip endeavoured to support his authority in the kingdom. The parliament passed a law,

⁹⁰ Dépêches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 25.

⁹¹ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 292. Goodwin, p. 348.

⁹² Heylin, p. 46.

which, in case of the queen's demise, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no further concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster, and dissolved them.

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1555.

THERE happened an incident this session, which must not be passed over in silence. Several members of the lower house, dissatisfied with the measures of the parliament, but finding themselves unable to prevent them, made a secession, in order to show their disapprobation, and refused any longer to attend the house⁹³. For this instance of contumacy they were indicted in the King's bench after the dissolution of parliament: Six of them submitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines: The rest traversed; and the queen died before the affair was brought to an issue. Judging of the matter by the subsequent claims of the house of commons, and, indeed, by the true principles of free government, this attempt of the queen's ministers must be regarded as a breach of privilege; but it gave little umbrage at the time, and was never called in question by any house of commons, which afterwards sat during this reign. The count of Noailles, the French ambassador, says, that the queen threw several members into prison for their freedom of speech⁹⁴.

16th Jan.

⁹³ Coke's Institutes, part. iv. p. 17. Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 165. ⁹⁴ Vol. v. p. 296.

CHAP. XXXVII.

*Reasons for and against Toleration — Persecutions —
A parliament — The queen's extortions — The
emperor resigns his crown — Execution of Cranmer —
War with France — Battle of St. Quentin — Calais
taken by the French — Affairs of Scotland — Marriage
of the Dauphin and the queen of Scots — A parlia-
ment — Death of the queen.*

CHAP.
XXXVII.
1555.

THE success, which Gardiner, from his cautious and prudent conduct, had met with in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spanish match, and in the re-establishment of the ancient religion, two points to which, it was believed, they bore an extreme aversion, had so raised his character for wisdom and policy, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the council; and his authority, as it was always great in his own party, no longer suffered any opposition or controul. Cardinal Pole himself, though more beloved on account of his virtue and candor, and though superior in birth and station, had not equal weight in public deliberations; and while his learning, piety, and humanity were extremely respected, he was represented more as a good man than a great minister. A very important question was frequently debated, before the queen and council, by these two ecclesiastics; whether the laws
lately

lately revived against heretics should be put in execution, or should only be employed to restrain, by terror, the bold attempts of these zealots? Pole was very sincere in his religious principles; and though his moderation had made him be suspected at Rome of a tendency towards Lutheranism, he was seriously persuaded of the catholic doctrines, and thought that no consideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with such important interests. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion subservient to his schemes of safety or advancement; and by his unlimited complaisance to Henry, he had shown, that, had he not been pushed to extremity under the late minority, he was sufficiently disposed to make a sacrifice of his principles to the established theology. This was the well-known character of these two great counsellors; yet such is the prevalence of temper above system, that the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets, which he highly blamed; while the severe manners of Gardiner inclined him to support, by persecution, that religion, which, at the bottom, he regarded with great indifference^{*}. This circumstance of public conduct was of the highest importance; and from being the object of deliberation in the council, it soon became the subject of discourse throughout the nation. We shall relate, in a few words, the topics, by which

C H A P.
XXXVII.
1555.

^{*} Heylin, p. 47.

C H A P.
XXXVII.
1555.

each side supported, or might have supported, their scheme of policy; and shall display the opposite reasons, which have been employed, with regard to an argument that ever has been, and ever will be so much canvassed.

Reasons for
and against
toleration.

THE practice of persecution, said the defenders of Pole's opinion, is the scandal of all religion; and the theological animosity, so fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their opposite sects, is a certain proof, that they have never reached any serious persuasion with regard to these remote and sublime subjects. Even those, who are the most impatient of contradiction in other controversies, are mild and moderate in comparison of polemical divines; and wherever a man's knowledge and experience give him a perfect assurance in his own opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the opposition and mistakes of others. But while men zealously maintain what they neither clearly comprehend, nor entirely believe, they are shaken in their imagined faith, by the opposite persuasion, or even doubts of other men; and vent on their antagonists that impatience, which is the natural result of so disagreeable a state of the understanding. They then easily embrace any pretence for representing opponents as impious and profane; and if they can also find a color for connecting this violence with the interests of civil government, they can no longer be restrained from giving uncontrouled scope to vengeance and resentment. But surely never

enterprise was more unfortunate than that of founding persecution upon policy, or endeavouring, for the sake of peace, to settle an entire uniformity of opinion, in questions which, of all others, are least subjected to the criterion of human reason. The universal and uncontradicted prevalence of one opinion in religious subjects, can be owing at first to the stupid ignorance alone and barbarism of the people, who never indulge themselves in any speculation or inquiry; and there is no expedient for maintaining that uniformity, so fondly fought after, but by banishing for ever all curiosity and all improvement in science and cultivation. It may not, indeed, appear difficult to check, by a steady severity, the first beginnings of controversy; but besides that this policy exposes for ever the people to all the abject terrors of superstition, and the magistrate to the endless encroachments of ecclesiastics, it also renders men so delicate, that they can never endure to hear of opposition; and they will some time pay dearly for that false tranquillity, in which they have been so long indulged. As healthful bodies are ruined by too nice a regimen, and are thereby rendered incapable of bearing the unavoidable incidents of human life; a people, who never were allowed to imagine, that their principles could be contested, fly out into the most outrageous violence, when any event (and such events are common) produces a faction among their clergy; and gives rise to any difference in tenet or opinion. But whatever

C H A P. may be said in favor of suppressing, by persecu-
 XXXVII. tion, the first beginnings of heresy, no solid
 1555. argument can be alledged for extending severity
 towards multitudes, or endeavouring, by capital
 punishments, to extirpate an opinion, which has
 diffused itself among men of every rank and
 station. Besides the extreme barbarity of such an
 attempt, it commonly proves ineffectual to the
 purpose intended; and serves only to make men
 more obstinate in their persuasion, and to increase
 the number of their proselytes. The melancholy,
 with which the fear of death, torture, and
 persecution inspires the sectaries, is the proper
 disposition for fostering religious zeal: The
 prospect of eternal rewards, when brought near,
 overpowers the dread of temporal punishments:
 The glory of martyrdom stimulates all the more
 furious zealots, especially the leaders and preach-
 ers: Where a violent animosity is excited by
 oppression, men naturally pass, from hating the
 persons of their tyrants, to a more violent
 abhorrence of their doctrines: And the spectators,
 moved with pity towards the supposed martyrs,
 are easily seduced to embrace those principles,
 which can inspire men with a constancy that
 appears almost supernatural. Open the door to
 toleration, mutual hatred relaxes among the
 sectaries; their attachment to their particular
 modes of religion decays; the common occupa-
 tions and pleasures of life succeed to the acrimony
 of disputation; and the same man, who, in other
 circumstances, would have braved flames and

tortures, is induced to change his sect from the smallest prospect of favor and advancement, or even from the frivolous hope of becoming more fashionable in his principles. If any exception can be admitted to this maxim of toleration, it will only be where a theology altogether new, nowise connected with the ancient religion of the state, is imported from foreign countries, and may easily, at one blow, be eradicated, without leaving the seeds of future innovation. But as this exception would imply some apology for the ancient pagan persecutions, or for the extirpation of Christianity in China and Japan; it ought surely, on account of this detested consequence, to be rather buried in eternal silence and oblivion.

C H A P.

XXXVII.

1555.

THOUGH these arguments appear entirely satisfactory, yet such is the subtlety of human wit, that Gardiner, and the other enemies to toleration, were not reduced to silence; and they still found topics on which to maintain the controversy. The doctrine, said they, of liberty of conscience, is founded on the most flagrant impiety, and supposes such an indifference among all religions, such an obscurity in theological doctrines, as to render the church and magistrate incapable of distinguishing, with certainty, the dictates of Heaven from the mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will surely give a criterion by which they may be ascertained; and a prince, who knowingly allows these principles to be perverted or adulte-

C H A P.

XXXVII.

1555.

rated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permission for the vending of poison, under the shape of food, to all his subjects. Persecution may, indeed, seem better calculated to make hypocrites than converts; but experience teaches us, that the habits of hypocrisy often turn into reality; and the children at least, ignorant of the dissimulation of their parents, may happily be educated in more orthodox tenets. It is absurd, in opposition to considerations of such unspeakable importance, to plead the temporal and frivolous interests of civil society; and if matters be thoroughly examined, even that topic will not appear so universally certain in favor of toleration as by some it is represented. Where sects arise, whose fundamental principle on all sides is to execrate, and abhor, and damn, and extirpate each other; what choice has the magistrate left but to take part, and by rendering one sect entirely prevalent, restore, at least for a time, the public tranquillity? The political body, being here sickly, must not be treated as if it were in a state of sound health; and an affected neutrality in the prince, or even a cool preference, may serve only to encourage the hopes of all the sects, and keep alive their animosity. The protestants, far from tolerating the religion of their ancestors, regard it as an impious and detestable idolatry; and during the late minority, when they were entirely masters, they enacted very severe, though not capital, punishments against all exercise of the catholic worship, and even against such as barely abstained

from their profane rites and sacraments. Nor are instances wanting of their endeavours to secure an imagined orthodoxy by the most rigorous executions: Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva: Cranmer brought Arians and Anabaptists to the stake: And if persecution of any kind be admitted, the most bloody and violent will surely be allowed the most justifiable, as the most effectual. Imprisonments, fines, confiscations, whippings, serve only to irritate the sects, without disabling them from resistance: But the stake, the wheel, and the gibbet, must soon terminate in the extirpation or banishment of all the heretics, inclined to give disturbance, and in the entire silence and submission of the rest.

THE arguments of Gardiner, being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better received; and though Pole pleaded, as is affirmed², the advice of the emperor, who recommended it to his daughter-in-law, not to exercise violence against the protestants, and desired her to consider his own example, who, after endeavouring, through his whole life, to extirpate heresy, had, in the end, reaped nothing but confusion and disappointment, the scheme of toleration was entirely rejected. It was determined to

² Burnet, vol. ii. Heylin, p. 47. It is not likely, however, that Charles gave any such advice: For he himself was at this very time proceeding with great violence in persecuting the reformed in Flanders. Bentivoglio, part. i. lib. i.

C H A P. let loose the laws in their full vigor against the
 XXXVII. reformed religion ; and England was soon filled
 1555. with scenes of horror , which have ever since
 rendered the catholic religion the object of general
 detestation , and which prove , that no human
 depravity can equal revenge and cruelty , covered
 with the mantle of religion.

Violent per-
 secutions in
 England.

THE persecutors began with Rogers, prebendary
 of St Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue
 as well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was first
 to attack men of that character, whom, he hoped,
 terror would bend to submission, and whose ex-
 ample, either of punishment or recantation, would
 naturally have influence on the multitude : But
 he found a perseverance and courage in Rogers,
 which it may seem strange to find in human nature,
 and of which all ages, and all sects, do nevertheless
 furnish many examples. Rogers, beside the care
 of his own preservation, lay under other powerful
 temptations to compliance : He had a wife, whom
 he tenderly loved, and ten children ; yet such
 was his serenity after his condemnation, that the
 jailors, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep,
 when the hour of his execution approached. He
 had desired to see his wife before he died ; but
 Gardiner told him, that he was a priest ; and could
 not possibly have a wife ; thus joining insult to
 cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield ³.

HOOPER, bishop of Gloucester, had been tried
 at the same time with Rogers ; but was sent to

³ Fox, vol. iii. p. 119. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 302.

his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance was contrived to strike the greater terror into his flock ; but it was a source of consolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony, by his death, to that doctrine, which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was still in his power to merit by a recantation : But he ordered it to be removed ; and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment, to which he was sentenced. He suffered it in its full severity : The wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body : The faggots were green, and did not kindle easily : All his lower parts were consumed, before his vitals were attacked : One of his hands dropped off : With the other he continued to beat his breast : He was heard to pray and to exhort the people ; till his tongue, swollen with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy *.

SANDERS was burned at Coventry : A pardon was also offered him ; but he rejected it, and embraced the stake, saying, " Welcome the cross of Christ ; welcome everlasting life. " Taylor, parson of Hadley, was punished by fire in that place, surrounded by his ancient friends and

C H A P.
XXXVII.
1555.

* Fox, vol. iii. p. 145, &c. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 302. Heylin, p. 48, 49. Goodwin, p. 349.

C H A P. parishioners. When tied to the stake, he rehearsed
 XXXVII. a psalm in English : One of his guards struck
 1555. him on the mouth, and bade him speak Latin :
 Another, in a rage, gave him a blow on the
 head with his halbert, which happily put an end
 to his torments.

THERE was one Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, inflamed with such zeal for orthodoxy, that having been engaged in dispute with an Arian, he spit in his adversary's face, to show the great detestation, which he had entertained against that heresy. He afterwards wrote a treatise to justify this unmannerly expression of zeal : He said, that he was led to it, in order to relieve the sorrow conceived from such horrid blasphemy, and to signify how unworthy such a miscreant was of being admitted into the society of any Christian^s. Philpot was a protestant; and falling now into the hands of people as zealous as himself, but more powerful, he was condemned to the flames, and suffered at Smithfield. It seems to be almost a general rule, that, in all religions except the true, no man will suffer martyrdom, who would not also inflict it willingly on all that differ from him. The same zeal for speculative opinions is the cause of both.

THE crime, for which almost all the protestants were condemned, was, their refusal to acknowledge the real presence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected, that a few examples would strike a

^s Strype, vol. iii. p. 261, and Coll. N° 58.

terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers⁶. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: He tore out the beard of a weaver, who refused to relinquish his religion; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle, till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst⁷.

C H A P.
XXXVII.

1555.

It is needless to be particular in enumerating all the cruelties practised in England during the course of three years that these persecutions lasted: The savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar in all those martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itself, would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not, on any occasion, so detestable, and at the same time so absurd, as in these religious persecutions, which sink men below infernal spirits in wickedness, and below the beasts in folly. A few instances only may be worth preserving, in order, if possible, to warn zealous bigots, for ever to avoid such odious and such fruitless barbarity.

FERRAR, bishop of St. David's, was burned in his own diocese; and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not attended to⁸. Ridley, bishop of

⁶ Heylin, p. 47, 48.

⁷ Fox, vol. iii. p. 187.

⁸ Ibid. p. 216.

C H A P. London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Wor-
 XXXVII. cester, two prelates celebrated for learning and
 1555. virtue, perished together in the same flames at
 Oxford, and supported each other's constancy by
 their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied
 to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of
 " good cheer, brother; we shall this day kindle
 " such a torch in England, as, I trust in God,
 " shall never be extinguished." The executioners
 had been so merciful (for that clemency may more
 naturally be ascribed to them than to the religious
 zealots) as to tie bags of gunpowder about these
 prelates, in order to put a speedy period to their
 tortures: The explosion immediately killed La-
 timer, who was in extreme old age: Ridley
 continued alive during some time in the midst
 of the flames*.

ONE Hunter, a young man of nineteen; an
 apprentice, having been seduced by a priest into
 a dispute, had unwarily denied the real presence.
 Sensible of his danger, he immediately absconded;
 but Bonner, laying hold of his father, threatened
 him with the greatest severities, if he did not
 produce the young man to stand his trial. Hun-
 ter, hearing of the vexations to which his father
 was exposed, voluntarily surrendered himself to
 Bonner, and was condemned to the flames by
 that barbarous prelate.

THOMAS HAUKEs, when conducted to the
 stake, agreed with his friends, that, if he found

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 318. Heylin, p. 52.

the torture tolerable, he would make them a signal to that purpose in the midst of the flames. His zeal for the cause, in which he suffered, supported him, that he stretched out his arms, the signal agreed on; and in that posture he expired¹⁰. This example, with many others of like constancy, encouraged multitudes, not only to suffer, but even to court and aspire to martyrdom.

C H A P.
XXXVII.
1555.

THE tender sex itself, as they have commonly greater propensity to religion, produced many examples of the most inflexible courage, in supporting the profession of it against all the fury of the persecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumstances, which, even at that time, excited astonishment, by reason of their unusual barbarity. A woman in Guernsey, being near the time of her labor when brought to the stake, was thrown into such agitation by the torture, that her belly burst, and she was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to save it: But a magistrate, who stood by, ordered it to be thrown back, being determined, he said, that nothing should survive which sprang from so obstinate and heretical a parent¹¹.

THE persons condemned to these punishments were not convicted of teaching, or dogmatizing,

¹⁰ Fox, vol. iii. p. 265.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 747. Heylin, p. 57. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 337.

C H A P. contrary to the established religion : They were
XXXVII. seized merely on suspicion ; and articles being
1555. offered them to subscribe, they were immediately,
upon their refusal, condemned to the flames¹².
These instances of barbarity, so unusual in the
nation, excited horror ; the constancy of the
martyrs was the object of admiration ; and as men
have a principle of equity engraven in their
minds, which even false religion is not able to-
tally to obliterate, they were shocked to see
persons of probity, of honor, of pious disposi-
tions, exposed to punishments more severe than
were inflicted on the greatest ruffians, for crimes
subversive of civil society. To exterminate the
whole protestant party, was known to be impos-
sible ; and nothing could appear more iniquitous,
than to subject to torture the most conscientious
and courageous among them, and allow the
cowards and hypocrites to escape. Each mar-
tyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred
sermons against popery ; and men either avoided
such horrid spectacles, or returned from them
full of a violent, though secret, indignation
against the persecutors. Repeated orders were
sent from the council to quicken the diligence of
the magistrates in searching out heretics ; and, in
some places, the gentry were constrained to coun-
tenance, by their presence, those barbarous ex-
ecutions. These acts of violence tended only to
render the Spanish government daily more odious ;

¹² Burnet, vol. ii. p. 306.

and Philip, sensible of the hatred which he incurred, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself by a very gross artifice: He ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in favor of toleration; a doctrine somewhat extraordinary in the mouth of a Spanish friar¹³. But the court, finding that Bonner, however shameless and savage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, soon threw off the mask; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without controul. A bold step was even taken towards introducing the inquisition into England. As the bishops' courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be invested with sufficient power, a commission was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate heresy. Twenty one persons were named; but any three were armed with the powers of the whole. The commission runs in these terms; "That since many
 " false rumors were published among the subjects,
 " and many heretical opinions were also spread
 " among them, the commissioners were to inquire
 " into those, either by presentments, by witnesses,
 " or any other political way they could devise,
 " and to search after all heresies; the bringers in,
 " the sellers, the readers of all heretical books:
 " They were to examine and punish all misbehaviours or negligences, in any church or chapel;

¹³ Heylin, p. 56.

G H A P. " and to try all priests that did not preach the
 XXXVII. " sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not
 1555. " hear mass, or come to their parish church to
 " service, that would not go in processions, or
 " did not take holy bread or holy water: And
 " if they found any that did obstinately persist
 " in such heresies, they were to put them into
 " the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished
 " according to the spiritual laws: Giving the
 " commissioners full power to proceed, as their
 " discretions and consciences should direct them,
 " and to use all such means as they would invent
 " for the searching of the premises; empowering
 " them also to call before them such witnesses as
 " they pleased, and to force them to make oath
 " of such things as might discover what they
 " sought after¹⁴." Some civil powers were also
 given the commissioners to punish vagabonds
 and quarrellsome persons.

To bring the methods of proceeding in Eng-
 land still nearer to the practice of the inquisition,
 letters were written to lord North, and others,
 enjoining them, " To put to the torture such
 " obstinate persons as would not confess, and
 " there to order them at their discretion¹⁵."
 Secret spies also, and informers, were employed,
 according to the practice of that iniquitous tri-
 bunal. Instructions were given to the justices
 of peace, " That they should call secretly before
 " them one or two honest persons within their

¹⁴ Burnet, vol. ii. Coll. 32. ¹⁵ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 243.
 limits

“ limits, or more, at their discretion, and com- C H A P.
 “ mand them by oath, or otherwise, that they XXXVII.
 “ shall secretly learn and search out such persons 1555.
 “ as shall evil-behave themselves in church, or
 “ idly, or shall despise openly by words, the
 “ king’s or queen’s proceedings, or go about to
 “ make any commotion, or tell any seditious
 “ tales or news. And also that the same persons
 “ so to be appointed, shall declare to the same
 “ justices of peace, the ill behaviour of lewd
 “ disordered persons, whether it shall be for
 “ using unlawful games, and such other light
 “ behaviour of such suspected persons: And that
 “ the same information shall be given secretly to
 “ the justices; and the same justices shall call
 “ such accused persons before them, and examine
 “ them, without declaring by whom they were
 “ accused. And that the same justices shall, upon
 “ their examination, punish the offenders, ac-
 “ cording as their offences shall appear, upon the
 “ accusation and examination, by their discre-
 “ tion, either by open punishment or by good
 “ abaring¹⁶.” In some respects, this tyrannical
 edict even exceeded the oppression of the inquisi-
 tion; by introducing into every part of govern-
 ment, the same iniquities, which that tribunal
 practises for the extirpation of heresy only, and
 which are, in some measure, necessary wherever
 that end is earnestly pursued.

BUT the court had devised a more expeditious

¹⁶ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 246, 247.

C H A P. and summary method of supporting orthodoxy
 XXXVII. than even the inquisition itself. They issued a
 1555. proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition; and declared, "That whosoever
 " had any of these books, and did not presently
 " burn them, without reading them, or showing
 " them to any other person, should be esteemed
 " rebels; and without any farther delay, be
 " executed by martial law¹⁷." From the state of the English government, during that period, it is not so much the illegality of these proceedings, as their violence and their pernicious tendency, which ought to be the object of our censure.

WE have thrown together almost all the proceedings against heretics, though carried on during a course of three years; that we may be obliged, as little as possible, to return to such shocking violences and barbarities. It is computed, that in that time two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire, were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and laborers, fifty-five women, and four children. This persevering cruelty appears astonishing; yet is it much inferior to what has been practised in other countries. A great author¹⁸ computes, that, in the Netherlands

¹⁷ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 363. Heylin, p. 79.

¹⁸ Father Paul, lib. 5.

alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion; and that in France the number had also been considerable. Yet in both countries, as the same author subjoins, the progress of the new opinions, instead of being checked, was rather forwarded by these persecutions.

C H A P.
XXXVII.
1555.

THE burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the Romish communion; and little solicitation was requisite to engage the pope to receive the strayed flock, from which he reaped such considerable profit: Yet was there a solemn embassy sent to Rome, consisting of Sir Anthony Brown, created viscount Montacute, the bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne; in order to carry the submissions of England, and beg to be re-admitted into the bosom of the catholic church¹⁹. Paul IV. after a short interval, now filled the papal chair; the most haughty pontiff that during several ages had been elevated to that dignity. He was offended, that Mary still retained among her titles, that of queen of Ireland; and he affirmed, that it belonged to him alone, as he saw cause, either to erect new kingdoms or abolish the old: But to avoid all dispute with the new converts, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and he then admitted the title, as if it had been

¹⁹ Heylin, p. 45.

C H A P. assumed from his concession. This was a usual
 XXXVII. artifice of the popes, to give allowance to what
 1555. they could not prevent²⁰, and afterwards pretend,
 that princes, while they exercised their own
 powers, were only acting by authority from the
 papacy. And though Paul had at first intended
 to oblige Mary formally to recede from this title,
 before he would bestow it upon her; he found
 it prudent to proceed in a less haughty manner²¹.

ANOTHER point in discussion between the pope
 and the English ambassadors was not so easily
 terminated. Paul insisted, that the property and
 possessions of the church should be restored to
 the uttermost farthing: That whatever belonged
 to God could never by any law be converted to
 profane uses, and every person who detained
 such possessions was in a state of eternal dam-
 nation: That he would willingly, in consideration
 of the humble submission of the English, make
 them a present of these ecclesiastical revenues;
 but such a concession exceeded his power, and
 the people might be certain that so great a pro-
 fanation of holy things would be a perpetual
 anathema upon them, and would blast all their
 future felicity: That if they would truly show
 their filial piety, they must restore all the privi-
 leges and emoluments of the Romish church, and
 Peter's pence among the rest; nor could they
 expect, that this apostle would open to them the
 gates of paradise, while they detained from him

²⁰ Heylin, 45. Father Paul, lib. 5. ²¹ Ibid.

his patrimony on earth ²². These earnest re- C H A P.
monstrances, being transmitted to England, XXXVII.
though they had little influence on the nation, 1555.
operated powerfully on the queen; who was
determined, in order to ease her conscience, to
restore all the church lands which were still in the
possession of the crown: And the more to display
her zeal, she erected a-new some convents and
monasteries, notwithstanding the low condition
of the exchequer ²³. When this measure was
debated in council, some members objected, that,
if such a considerable part of the revenue were
dismembered, the dignity of the crown would
fall to decay: but the queen replied, that she
preferred the salvation of her soul to ten such
kingdoms as England ²⁴. These imprudent mea-
sures would not probably have taken place so
easily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner,
which happened about this time: The great seal
was given to Heathe, archbishop of York; that
an ecclesiastic might still be possessed of that high
office, and be better enabled by his authority to
forward the persecutions against the reformed.

THESE persecutions were now become extreme-
ly odious to the nation; and the effects of the
public discontent appeared in the new parliament,
summoned to meet at Westminster ²⁵. A bill ²⁶

21st Octob.
A parlia-
ment.

²² Father Paul, lib. 5. Heylin, p. 45.

²³ Dépêches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 312.

²⁴ Heylin, p. 53. 65. Hollingshed, p. 1127. Speed,
p. 826. ²⁵ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 322. ²⁶ 2 and 3 Phil. and
Mar. cap. 4.

C H A P. was passed, restoring to the church the tenths
 XXXVII. and first-fruits, and all the impropriations which
 1555. remained in the hands of the crown; but though
 this matter directly concerned none but the queen
 herself, great opposition was made to the bill in
 the house of commons. An application being
 made for a subsidy during two years, and for
 two fifteenths, the latter was refused by the
 commons; and many members said, that, while
 the crown was thus despoiling itself of its re-
 venue, it was in vain to bestow riches upon it.
 The parliament rejected a bill for obliging the
 exiles to return under certain penalties, and
 another for incapacitating such as were remiss in
 the prosecution of heresy from being justices of
 peace. The queen, finding the intractable humor
 of the commons, thought proper to dissolve the
 parliament.

9th Dec.

THE spirit of opposition, which began to pre-
 vail in parliament, was the more likely to be vex-
 atious to Mary, as she was otherwise in very bad
 humor, on account of her husband's, absence,
 who, tired of her importunate love and jealousy,
 and finding his authority extremely limited in Eng-
 land, had laid hold of the first opportunity to
 leave her, and had gone over last summer to the
 emperor in Flanders. The indifference and ne-
 glect of Philip, added to the disappointment in
 her imagined pregnancy, threw her into deep
 melancholy; and she gave vent to her spleen
 by daily enforcing the persecutions against the
 protestants, and even by expressions of rage

against all her subjects ; by whom she knew her-
 self to be hated , and whose opposition , in re-
 fusing an entire compliance with Philip , was the
 cause , she believed , why he had alienated his
 affections from her , and afforded her so little of
 his company ²⁷. The less return her love met
 with , the more it increased ; and she passed most
 of her time in solitude , where she gave vent to
 her passion , either in tears , or in writing fond
 epistles to Philip , who seldom returned her any
 answer , and scarcely deigned to pretend any sen-
 timent of love or even of gratitude towards her.
 The chief part of government , to which she at-
 tended , was the extorting of money from her
 people , in order to satisfy his demands ; and as
 the parliament had granted her but a scanty sup-
 ply , she had recourse to expedients very violent
 and irregular. She levied a loan of 600,000 pounds
 upon a thousand persons , of whose compliance ,
 either on account of their riches or their affections
 to her , she held herself best assured : But that
 sum not sufficing , she exacted a general loan on
 every one who possessed twenty pounds a-year.
 This imposition lay heavy on the gentry , who
 were obliged , many of them to retrench their
 expences , and dismiss their servants in order to
 enable them to comply with her demands : And
 as these servants , accustomed to idleness , and
 having no means of subsistence , commonly be-
 took themselves to theft and robbery , the queen

C H A P.
 XXXVII.
 1555.

The queen's
 extortions.

²⁷ Dépêches de Noailles , vol. v. p. 370. 562.

C H A P. published a proclamation, by which she obliged
XXXVII. their former masters to take them back to their
1555. service. She levied 60,000 marks on 7000 yeomen,
who had not contributed to the former loan;
and she exacted 36,000 pounds more from the
merchants. In order to engage some Londoners
to comply more willingly with her multiplied
extortions, she passed an edict, prohibiting, for
four months, the exporting of any English cloths
or kerseys to the Netherlands; an expedient
which procured a good market for such as had
already sent any quantity of cloth thither. Her ra-
paciouſness engaged her to give endless disturb-
ance and interruption to commerce. The Eng-
lish company ſettled in Antwerp having refused
her a loan of 40,000 pounds, ſhe diſſembled her
repentment, till ſhe found, that they had bought
and ſhipped great quantities of cloth for Ant-
werp fair, which was approaching: She then laid
an embargo on the ſhips, and obliged the mer-
chants to grant her a loan of the 40,000 pounds
at firſt demanded, to engage for the payment of
20,000 pounds more at a limited time, and to
ſubmit to an arbitrary impoſition of twenty ſhil-
lings on each piece. Some time, after ſhe was
informed, that the Italian merchants had ſhipped
above 40,000 pieces of cloth for the Levant, for
which they were to pay her a crown a piece,
the uſual impoſition: She ſtruck a bargain with
the merchant adventurers in London; prohibited
the foreigners from making any exportation; and
received from the English merchants, in con-

sideration of this iniquity, the sum of 50,000 C H A P. pounds, and an imposition of four crowns on XXXVII. each piece of cloth which they should export. 1555. She attempted to borrow great sums abroad; but her credit was so low, that, though she offered 14 per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of 30,000 pounds, she could not obtain it, till she compelled the city of London to be surety for her²⁸. All these violent expedients were employed, while she herself was in profound peace with all the world, and had visibly no occasion for money but to supply the demands of a husband, who gave attention only to his own convenience, and showed himself entirely indifferent about her interests.

PHILIP was now become master of all the wealth of the new world, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary resignation of the emperor, Charles V.; who, though still in the vigor of his age, had taken a disgust to the world, and was determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happiness, which he had in vain pursued, amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. He summoned the states of the Low Countries; and seating himself on the throne for the last time, explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation, absolved them from all oaths

The emperor resigns his crown.

25th Oct.

²⁸ Goodwin, p. 359. Cowper's Chronicle. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 359. Carte, p. 330. 333. 337. 341. Strype's Memor. vol. iii. p. 428. 558. Annals, vol. i. p. 15.

C H A P. of allegiance , and devolving his authority on
 XXXVII. Philip , told him , that his paternal tenderness
 made him weep , when he reflected on the burthen
 which he imposed upon him²⁹. He inculcated
 on him the great and only duty of a prince , the
 study of his people's happiness ; and represented
 how much preferable it was to govern , by af-
 fection rather than by fear , the nations subjected
 to his dominion. The cool reflections of age now
 discovered to him the emptiness of his former
 pursuits ; and he found , that the vain schemes of
 extending his empire , had been the source of
 endless opposition and disappointment , and kept
 himself , his neighbours , and his subjects , in
 perpetual inquietude , and had frustrated the sole
 end of government , the felicity of the nations
 committed to his care ; an object which meets
 with less opposition , and which , if steadily
 pursued , can alone convey a lasting and solid
 satisfaction.

2556. A FEW months after , he resigned to Philip his
 other dominions ; and embarking on board a
 fleet , sailed to Spain , and took his journey to
 St. Just , a monastery in Estremadura , which ,
 being situated in a happy climate , and amidst the
 greatest beauties of nature , he had chosen for the
 place of his retreat. When he arrived at Burgos ,
 he found , by the thinness of his court , and the
 negligent attendance of the Spanish grandees , that
 he was no longer emperor ; and though this ob-

²⁹ Thuan. lib. xvi. c. 20.

servation might convince him still more of the vanity of the world, and make him more heartily despise what he had renounced; he sighed to find that all former adulation and obeisance had been paid to his fortune, not to his person. With better reason, was he struck with the ingratitude of his son Philip, who obliged him to wait a long time for the payment of the small pension which he had reserved; and this disappointment in his domestic enjoyments gave him a sensible concern. He pursued however his resolution with inflexible constancy; and shutting himself up in his retreat, he exerted such self-command, that he restrained even his curiosity from any inquiry concerning the transactions of the world, which he had entirely abandoned. The fencing against the pains and infirmities, under which he labored, occupied a great part of his time; and during the intervals, he employed his leisure either in examining the controversies of theology, with which his age had been so much agitated, and which he had hitherto considered only in a political light, or in imitating the works of renowned artists, particularly in mechanics, of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. He is said to have here discovered a propensity to the new doctrines; and to have frequently dropped hints of this unexpected alteration in his sentiments. Having amused himself with the construction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked how impracticable the object was, in which he had so much employed himself during his grandeur; and

C H A P.

XXXVII.

1556.

C H A P. how impossible, that he, who never could frame
 XXXVII. two machines that would go exactly alike, could
 1556. ever be able to make all mankind concur in the
 same belief and opinion. He survived his retreat
 two years.

THE emperor Charles had very early, in the beginning of his reign, found the difficulty of governing such distant dominions; and he had made his brother Ferdinand be elected king of the Romans; with a view to his inheriting the Imperial dignity, as well as his German dominions. But having afterwards enlarged his schemes, and formed plans of aggrandizing his family, he regretted, that he must dismember such considerable states; and he endeavoured to engage Ferdinand, by the most tempting offers, and most earnest solicitations, to yield up his pretensions in favor of Philip. Finding his attempts fruitless, he had resigned the Imperial crown with his other dignities; and Ferdinand, according to common form, applied to the pope for his coronation. The arrogant pontiff refused the demand; and pretended, that, though, on the death of an emperor, he was obliged to crown the prince elected, yet in the case of a resignation, the right devolved to the holy see, and it belonged to the pope alone to appoint an emperor. The conduct of Paul was in every thing conformable to these lofty pretensions. He thundered always in the ears of all ambassadors, that he stood in no need of the assistance of any prince, that he was above all potentates of the earth, that he would not

accustom monarchs to pretend to a familiarity or equality with him, that it belonged to him to alter and regulate kingdoms, that he was successor of those who had deposed kings and emperors, and that rather than submit to any thing below his dignity, he would set fire to the four corners of the world. He went so far, as, at table, in the presence of many persons, and even openly, in a public consistory, to say, that he would not admit any kings for his companions; they were all his subjects, and he would hold them under these feet: So saying, he stamped on the ground with his old and infirm limbs: For he was now past fourscore years of age³⁰.

C H A P.
XXXVII.
1556.

THE world could not forbear making a comparison between Charles V. a prince, who, though educated amidst wars and intrigues of state, had prevented the decline of age, and had descended from the throne, in order to set apart an interval for thought and reflection, and a priest, who, in the extremity of old age, exulted in his dominion, and from restless ambition and revenge was throwing all nations into combustion. Paul had entertained the most inveterate animosity against the house of Austria; and though a truce of five years had been concluded between France and Spain, he excited Henry by his solicitations to break it, and promised to assist him in recovering Naples, and the dominions to which he laid claim in Italy; a project which had ever proved hurtful to the

³⁰ Father Paul, lib. 5.

C H A P. predecessors of that monarch. He himself engaged
XXXVII. in hostilities with the duke of Alva, viceroy of
1556. Naples; and Guise being sent with forces to support him, the renewal of war between the two crowns seemed almost inevitable. Philip, though less warlike than his father, was no less ambitious; and he trusted, that, by the intrigues of the cabinet, where, he believed, his caution and secrecy and prudence gave him the superiority, he should be able to subdue all his enemies, and extend his authority and dominion. For this reason, as well as from the desire of settling his new empire, he wished to maintain peace with France; but when he found, that, without sacrificing his honor, it was impossible for him to overlook the hostile attempts of Henry, he prepared for war with great industry. In order to give himself the more advantage, he was desirous of embarking England in the quarrel; and though the queen was of herself extremely averse to that measure, he hoped, that the devoted fondness, which, notwithstanding repeated instances of his indifference, she still bore to him, would effectually second his applications. Had the matter indeed depended solely on her, she was incapable of resisting her husband's commands; but she had little weight with her council, still less with her people; and her government, which was every day becoming more odious, seemed unable to maintain itself even during the most profound tranquillity, much more if a war were kindled with France, and what seemed an

inevitable consequence, with Scotland, supported by that powerful kingdom.

AN act of barbarity was this year exercised in England, which, added to many other instances of the same kind, tended to render the government extremely unpopular. Cranmer had long been detained prisoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to punishment; and in order the more fully to satiate her vengeance, she resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirleby of Ely were sent to degrade him; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation, which suited his savage nature³¹. The implacable spirit of the queen, not satisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which she believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful sentence, to which he was condemned, prompted her also to seek the ruin of his honor, and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to attack him, not in the way of disputation, against which he was sufficiently armed; but by flattery, insinuation, and address; by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends, whom

C H A P.

XXXVII.

1556.

Execution of
Cranmer.

³¹ Mem. of Cranm. 375.

C H A P.

XXXVII.

1556.

21st March.

his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity ³². Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him; he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and he agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined, that this recantation should avail him nothing; and they sent orders, that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he should thence be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer, whether that he had received a secret intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, surprised the audience by a contrary declaration. He said, that he was well apprized of the obedience which he owed to his sovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear without resistance whatever hardships they should impose upon him: That a superior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to speak truth on all occasions, and not to relinquish, by a base denial, the holy doctrine, which the supreme Being had revealed to mankind: That there was one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he severely repented; the insincere declaration of faith, to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death

³² Heylin, p. 55. Mem. p. 383.

alone had extorted from him : That he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a sincere and open recantation ; and was willing to seal with his blood that doctrine, which he firmly believed to be communicated from Heaven: And that as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the stake amidst the insults of the catholics ; and having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness or even of feeling, he held it in the flames, till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault ; and he called aloud several times, *This hand has offended*. Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance ; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and by the force of hope and resolution to have collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended, that, after his body was consumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidst the ashes ; an event, which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants. He was undoubtedly a man of merit ; possessed of learning and capacity, and adorned

C H A P.
XXXVII.
1556.

C H A P. with candor, sincerity, and beneficence, and
 XXXVII. all those virtues, which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the protestant party³³.

AFTER Cranmer's death, cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was installed in the see of Canterbury; and was thus by this office, as well as by his commission of legate, placed at the head of the church of England. But though he was averse to all sanguinary methods of converting heretics, and deemed the reformation of the clergy the more effectual, as the more laudable expedient for that purpose³⁴; he found his authority too weak to oppose the barbarous and bigotted disposition of the queen and of her counsellors. He himself, he knew, had been suspected of Lutheranism; and as Paul, the reigning pope, was a furious persecutor and his personal enemy, he was prompted, by the modesty of his disposition, to reserve his credit for other occasions, in which he had a greater probability of success³⁵.

1557. THE great object of the queen was to engage the nation in the war, which was kindled between France and Spain; and cardinal Pole, with

³³ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 331, 332, &c. Goodwin, p. 352.

³⁴ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 324, 325.

³⁵ Heylin, p. 68, 69. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 327.

many other counsellors, openly and zealously opposed this measure. Besides insisting on the marriage articles, which provided against such an attempt, they represented the violence of the domestic factions in England, and the disordered state of the finances; and they foreboded, that the tendency of all these measures was to reduce the kingdom to a total dependence on Spanish counsels. Philip had come to London in order to support his partisans; and he told the queen, that, if he were not gratified in so reasonable a request, he never more would set foot in England. This declaration extremely heightened her zeal for promoting his interests, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, she threatened to dismiss all of them, and to appoint counsellors more obsequious; yet could she not procure a vote for declaring war with France. At length, one Stafford and some other conspirators were detected in a design of surprising Scarborough³⁶; and a confession being extorted from them, that they had been encouraged by Henry in the attempt, the queen's importunity prevailed; and it was determined to make this act of hostility, with others of a like secret and doubtful nature, the ground of the quarrel. War was accordingly declared against France and pre-

C H A P.
XXXVII.
1557.

³⁶ Heylin, p. 72. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 351. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs.

C H A P. parations were every where made for attacking
 XXXVII. that kingdom.

1557.

THE revenue of England at that time little exceeded 300,000 pounds³⁷. Any considerable supplies could scarcely be expected from parliament, considering the present disposition of the nation; and as the war would sensibly diminish that branch arising from the customs, the finances, it was foreseen, would fall short even of the ordinary charges of government; and must still more prove unequal to the expences of war. But though the queen owed great arrears to all her servants, besides the loans extorted from her subjects, these considerations had no influence with her; and in order to support her warlike preparations, she continued to levy money in the same arbitrary and violent manner which she had formerly practised. She obliged the city of London to supply her with 60,000 pounds on her husband's entry; she levied before the legal time the second year's subsidy voted by parliament; she issued a new many privy seals, by which she procured loans from her people; and having equipped a fleet, which she could not victual by reason of the dearth of provisions, she seized all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all these expedients, assisted by the power of pressing, she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in

³⁷ Rossi, Successi d'Inghilterra.

order to prevent any disturbance at home, many of the most considerable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and lest they should be known, the Spanish practice was followed: They either were carried thither in the night time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them³⁸.

C H A P.
XXXVII.
1557.

THE king of Spain had assembled an army, which, after the junction of the English, amounted to above sixty thousand men, conducted by Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest captains of the age. The constable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppose to him. The duke of Savoy, after menacing Marienburg and Rocroy, suddenly sat down before St. Quentin; and as the place was weak, and ill provided with a garrison, he expected in a few days to become master of it. But admiral Coligny, governor of the province, thinking his honor interested to save so important a fortress, threw himself into St. Quentin, with some troops of French and Scottish gendarmery; and by his exhortations and example animated the soldiers to a vigorous defence. He dispatched a messenger to his uncle, Montmorency, desiring a supply of men; and the constable approached the place with his whole army, in order to facilitate the entry of these succours. But the duke of Savoy, falling on the reinforcement, did such execution upon them, that not above

10th Aug.

³⁸ Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. iii. p. 377.

C H A P. five hundred got into the place. He next made
 XXXVII. an attack on the French army, and put them to
 1557. total rout, killing four thousand men, and dis-
 Battle of St. persing the remainder. In this unfortunate action
 Quentin. many of the chief nobility of France were either
 slain or taken prisoners: Among the latter was
 the old constable himself, who, fighting valiantly,
 and resolute to die rather than survive his defeat,
 was surrounded by the enemy, and thus fell
 alive into their hands. The whole kingdom of
 France was thrown into consternation: Paris was
 attempted to be fortified in a hurry: And had
 the Spaniards presently marched thither, it could
 not have failed to fall into their hands. But
 Philip was of a cautious temper; and he deter-
 mined first to take St. Quentin, in order to secure
 a communication with his own dominions. A
 very little time, it was expected, would finish
 this enterprise; but the bravery of Coligny still
 prolonged the siege seventeen days, which prov-
 ed the safety of France. Some troops were
 levied and assembled. Couriers were sent to recal
 the duke of Guise and his army from Italy: And
 the French, having recovered from their first
 panic, put themselves in a posture of defence.
 Philip, after taking Ham and Chatelet, found the
 season so far advanced, that he could attempt no
 other enterprise: He broke up his camp, and re-
 tired to winter-quarters.

BUT the vigilant activity of Guise, not satisfied
 with securing the frontiers, prompted him, in
 the depth of winter, to plan an enterprise, which

France, during her greatest successes, had always regarded as impracticable, and had never thought of undertaking. Calais was, in that age, deemed an impregnable fortress; and as it was known to be the favorite of the English nation, by whom it could easily be succoured, the recovery of that place by France was considered as totally desperate. But Coligny had remarked, that, as the town of Calais was surrounded with marshes, which, during the winter, were impassable, except over a dike guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam bridge, the English were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the end of autumn, and to recal them in the spring, at which time alone they judged their attendance necessary. On this circumstance he had founded the design of making a sudden attack on Calais; he had caused the place to be secretly viewed by some engineers; and a plan of the whole enterprise being found among his papers, it served, though he himself was made prisoner on the taking of St. Quentin, to suggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the measures of the duke of Guise.

SEVERAL bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole being suddenly assembled, formed an army, with which Guise made an unexpected march towards Calais. At the same time a great number of French ships, being ordered into the channel, under color of cruising on the English, composed a fleet which

C H A P.
XXXVII.

Calais taken
by the
French.

1558.

C H A P. made an attack by sea on the fortifications. The
 XXXVII. French assaulted St. Agatha with three thousand
 1558. arquebusiers ; and the garrison , though they made a vigorous defence , were soon obliged to abandon the place , and retreat to Newnam bridge. The siege of this latter place was immediately undertaken , and at the same time the fleet battered the risbank , which guarded the entrance of the harbour ; and both these castles seemed exposed to imminent danger. The governor , lord Wentworth , was a brave officer ; but finding that the greater part of his weak garrison was enclosed in the castle of Newnam bridge and the risbank , he ordered them to capitulate , and to join him in Calais , which , without their assistance , he was utterly unable to defend. The garrison of Newnam bridge was so happy as to effect this purpose ; but that of the risbank could not obtain such favorable conditions , and were obliged to surrender at discretion.

THE duke of Guise , now holding Calais blockaded by sea and land , thought himself secure of succeeding in his enterprize ; but in order to prevent all accident , he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He planted his batteries against the castle , where he made a large breach ; and having ordered Andelot , Coligny's brother , to drain the fossée , he commanded an assault , which succeeded ; and the French made a lodgment in the castle. On the night following , Wentworth attempted to recover this post ; but having lost two hundred men in a furious attack

which he made upon it³⁹, he found his garrison so weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. Ham and Guisnes fell soon after; and thus the duke of Guise, in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himself master of this strong fortrefs, that had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had, that very year, been victorious in the battle of Cressy. The English had held it above two hundred years; and as it gave them an easy entrance into France, it was regarded as the most important possession belonging to the crown. The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the glory acquired by Guise, who, at the time when all Europe imagined France to be sunk by the unfortunate battle of St. Quentin, had, in opposition to the English, and their allies, the Spaniards, acquired possession of a place, which no former king of France, even during the distractions of the civil wars, between the houses of York and Lancaster, had ever ventured to attempt. The English on the other hand, bereaved of this valuable fortrefs, murmured loudly against the improvidence of the queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitless war, for the sake of foreign interests, had thus exposed the nation to so severe a disgrace. A treasury exhausted by expences, and burthened with debts: a people divided and dejected; a sovereign negligent of her people's welfare; were circumstances

C H A P.
XXXVII.
1558.

³⁹ Thuan. lib. xx. cap. 2.

C H A P
XXXVII
1558.

which, notwithstanding the fair offers and promises of Philip, gave them small hopes of recovering Calais. And as the Scots, instigated by French councils, began to move on the borders, they were now necessitated rather to look to their defence at home, than to think of foreign conquests.

Affairs of
Scotland.

AFTER the peace, which, in consequence of king Edward's treaty with Henry, took place between Scotland and England, the queen dowager, on pretence of visiting her daughter and her relations, made a journey to France, and she carried along with her the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Marischal, and many of the principal nobility. Her secret design was to take measures for engaging the earl of Arran to resign to her the government of the kingdom; and as her brothers, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of Aumale, had uncontrouled influence in the court of France, she easily persuaded Henry, and, by his authority, the Scottish nobles, to enter into her measures. Having also gained Carnegy of Kinnaird, Panter, bishop of Ross, and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, three creatures of the governor's, she persuaded him, by their means, to consent to this resignation⁴⁰; and when every thing was thus prepared for her purpose, she took a journey to Scotland, and passed through England in her way thither. Edward received her with great respect

⁴⁰ Buchanan, lib. xiv. Keith, p. 56. Spotswood, p. 92.

and civility ; though he could not forbear attempting to renew the old treaty for his marriage with her daughter : A marriage, he said, so happily calculated for the tranquillity, interest, and security of both kingdoms, and the only means of ensuring a durable peace between them. For his part, he added, he never could entertain a cordial amity for any other husband whom she should chuse ; nor was it easy for him to forgive a man, who, at the same time that he disappointed so natural an alliance, had bereaved him of a bride, to whom his affections, from his earliest infancy, had been entirely engaged. The queen-dowager eluded these applications, by telling him, that, if any measures had been taken disagreeable to him, they were entirely owing to the imprudence of the duke of Somerset, who, instead of employing courtesy, caresses, and gentle offices, the proper means of gaining a young princess, had had recourse to arms and violence, and had constrained the Scottish nobility to send their sovereign into France, in order to interest that kingdom in protecting their liberty and independence ⁴¹.

WHEN the queen-dowager arrived in Scotland, she found the governor very unwilling to fulfil his engagements ; and it was not till after many delays that he could be persuaded to resign his authority. But finding that the majority of the young princess was approaching, and that the queen-dowager had gained the affections of all the

⁴¹ Keith, p. 59.

C H A P.

XXXVII.

1558.

principal nobility, he thought it more prudent to submit; and having stipulated, that he should be declared next heir to the crown, and should be freed from giving any account of his past administration, he placed her in possession of the power; and she thenceforth assumed the name of regent⁴². It was a usual saying of this princess, that, provided she could render her friends happy, and could ensure to herself a good reputation, she was entirely indifferent what befel her; and though this sentiment is greatly censured by the zealous reformers⁴³, as being founded wholly on secular motives, it discovers a mind well calculated for the government of kingdoms. D'Oisel, a Frenchman, celebrated for capacity, had attended her as ambassador from Henry, but in reality to assist her with his counsels in so delicate an undertaking as the administration of Scotland; and this man had formed a scheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to support a standing military force, which might at once repel the inroads of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of the Scottish nobles. But though some of the courtiers were gained over to this project, it gave great and general discontent to the nation; and the queen-regent, after ingenuously confessing, that it would prove pernicious to the kingdom, had the prudence to desist from it, and to trust entirely for her security to the goodwill and affections of her subjects.⁴⁴

⁴² 12th April, 1554. ⁴³ Knox, p. 89.

⁴⁴ Keith, p. 70. Buchanan, lib. xvi.

THIS laudable purpose seemed to be the chief C H A P.
 object of her administration ; yet was she some- XXXVII.
 times drawn from it by her connexions with 1558.
 France, and by the influence which her brothers
 had acquired over her. When Mary commenced
 hostilities against that kingdom, Henry required
 the queen-regent to take part in the quarrel;
 and she summoned at convention of states at New-
 bottle, and requested them to concur in a decla-
 ration of war against England. The Scottish
 nobles, who were become as jealous of French,
 as the English were of Spanish influence, refused
 their assent; and the queen was obliged to have
 recourse to stratagem, in order to effect her pur-
 pose. She ordered d'Oisel to begin some fortifi-
 cations at Eyemouth, a place which had been
 dismantled by the last treaty with Edward; and
 when the garrison of Berwick, as she foresaw,
 made an inroad to prevent the undertaking, she
 effectually employed this pretence to inflame the
 Scottish nation, and to engage them in hostilities
 against England ⁴⁵. The enterprises, however,
 of the Scots proceeded no farther than some in-
 roads on the borders: When d'Oisel, of himself,
 conducted artillery and troops to besiege the castle
 of Werke, he was recalled, and sharply rebuked
 by the council ⁴⁶.

IN order to connect Scotland more closely with
 France, and to increase the influence of the latter

Marriage of
 the dauphin
 and the
 queen of
 Scots.

⁴⁵ Buchanan, lib. xvi. Thuan. lib. xix. c. 7.

⁴⁶ Knox, p. 93.

C H A P.
XXXVII.
1558.

kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was sent by the Scottish parliament, to assist at the ceremony, and to settle the terms of the contract.

20th Jan.

A parlia-
ment.

THE close alliance between France and Scotland threatened very nearly the repose and security of Mary; and it was foreseen, that, though the factions and disorders, which might naturally be expected in the Scottish government during the absence of the sovereign, would make its power less formidable, that kingdom would at least afford to the French a means of invading England. The queen, therefore, found it necessary to summon a parliament, and to demand of them some supplies to her exhausted exchequer. And such an emergency usually gives great advantage to the people, and as the parliaments, during this reign, had shown, that, where the liberty and independence of the kingdom was menaced with imminent danger, they were not entirely overawed by the court, we shall naturally expect, that the late arbitrary methods of extorting money should, at least, be censured, and, perhaps, some remedy be for the future provided against them. The commons however, without making any reflections on the past, voted, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on goods. The clergy granted eight shillings in the pound, payable, as was also the subsidy of the laity, in four years by equal portions.

THE parliament also passed an act, confirming C H A P.
all the sales and grants of crown lands, which XXXVII.
either were already made by the queen, or should 1558.
be made during the seven ensuing years. It was
easy to foresee, that, in Mary's present disposition
and situation, this power would be followed by
a great alienation of the royal demesnes; and
nothing could be more contrary to the principles
of good government, than to establish a prince
with very extensive authority, yet permit him
to be reduced to beggary. This act met with
opposition in the house of commons. One Copley
expressed his fears lest the queen, under color of
the power there granted, might alter the succe-
sion, and alienate the crown from the lawful
heir: But his words were thought *irreverent* to
her majesty: He was committed to the custody
of the serjeant at arms; and though he expressed
sorrow for his offence, he was not released, till
the queen was applied to for his pardon.

THE English nation, during this whole reign,
were under great apprehensions, with regard not
only to the succession, but the life, of the lady
Elizabeth. The violent hatred, which the queen
bore to her, broke out on every occasion; and
it required all the authority of Philip, as well
as her own great prudence, to prevent the fatal
effects of it. The princess retired into the country;
and knowing that she was surrounded with spies,
she passed her time wholly in reading and study,
intermeddled in no business, and saw very little
company. While she remained in this situation,

C H A P. which for the present was melancholy, but which
 XXXVII. prepared her mind for those great actions, by
 1558. which her life was afterwards so much distinguished; proposals of marriage were made to her by the Swedish ambassador, in his master's name. As her first question was, whether the queen had been informed of these proposals; the ambassador told her, that his master thought, as he was a gentleman, it was his duty first to make his addressees to herself; and having obtained her consent, he would next, as a king, apply to her sister. But the princess would allow him to proceed no farther; and the queen, after thanking her for this instance of duty, desired to know how she stood affected to the Swedish proposals. Elizabeth, though exposed to many present dangers and mortifications, had the magnanimity to reserve herself for better fortune; and she covered her refusal with professions of a passionate attachment to a single life, which, she said, she infinitely preferred before any other⁴⁷. The princess showed like prudence in concealing her sentiments of religion, in complying with the present modes of worship, and in eluding all questions with regard to that delicate subject⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ Burnet, vol. ii. Collect. N° 37.

⁴⁸ The common net at that time, says Sir Richard Baker, for catching of protestants, was the real presence; and this net was used to catch the lady Elizabeth: For being asked one time what she thought of the words of Christ, *This is my body*, whether she thought it the true

THE money granted by parliament, enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of hundred and forty sail, which, being joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying six thousand land forces on board, was sent to make an attempt on the coast of Brittany. The fleet was commanded by lord Clinton: the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland. But the equipment of the fleet and army was so dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the design, and were prepared to receive them. The English found Brest so well guarded as to render an attempt on that place impracticable; but landing at Conquet, they plundered and burnt the town, with some adjacent villages, and were proceeding to commit greater disorders, when Kersimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of some militia, fell upon them, put them to rout, and drove them to their ships with considerable loss. But a small squadron of ten English ships had an opportunity of amply revenging this disgrace upon the French.

C H A P.
XXXVII.
1558.

body of Christ that was in the sacrament; it is said, that, after some pausing, she thus answered:

Christ was the word that spake it;
He took the bread and brake it;
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

Which, though it may seem but a slight expression, yet hath it more solidness than at first sight appears; at least, it served her turn at that time, to escape the net, which by direct answer she could not have done. Baker's Chronicle, p. 320.

C H A P. The mareſchal de Thermes, governor of Calais,
 XXXVII. had made an irruption into Flanders, with an
 1558. army of fourteen thouſand men; and having
 forced a paſſage over the river Aa, had taken
 Dunkirk, and Berg St. Winoc, and had advanced
 as far as Newport, but count Egmont coming
 ſuddenly upon him, with ſuperior forces, he
 was obliged to retreat; and being overtaken by
 the Spaniards near Gravelines, and finding a
 battle inevitable, he choſe very ſkilfully his
 ground for the engagement. He fortified his left
 wing with all the precautions poſſible; and poſted
 his right along the river Aa, which, he reaſon-
 ably thought, gave him full ſecurity from that
 quarter. But the Engliſh ſhips, which were
 accidentally on the coaſt, being drawn by the
 noiſe of the firing, failed up the river, and
 flanking the French, did ſuch execution by their
 artillery, that they put them to flight; and the
 Spaniards gained a complete victory⁴⁹.

MEANWHILE the principal army of France,
 under the duke of Guiſe, and that of Spain,
 under the duke of Savoy, approached each other
 on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two kings
 had come into their reſpective camps, attended
 by the flower of their nobility, men expected,
 that ſome great and important event would
 follow, from the emulation of theſe warlike
 nations. But Philip, though actuated by the ambi-

⁴⁹ Hollingſhed, p. 1150.

tion, possessed not the enterprising genius of a conqueror; and he was willing, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers, and the two great victories which he had gained at St. Quentin and Gravelines, to put a period to the war by treaty. Negotiations were entered into for that purpose; and as the terms offered by the two monarchs were somewhat wide of each other, the armies were put into winter-quarters, till the princes could come to better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip that of Calais and its territory to England: But in the midst of these negotiations, news arrived of the death of Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, began to relax in his firmness on that capital article. This was the only circumstance that could have made the death of that princess be regretted by the nation.

MARY had long been in a declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropfy for a pregnancy, she had made use of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of Elizabeth's succession, apprehensions of the danger to which the catholic religion stood exposed, dejection for the loss of Calais, concern for the ill state of her affairs, and, above all, anxiety for the absence of her husband, who, she knew, intended soon to depart for Spain, and to settle

C H A P. there during the remainder of his life : All these
 XXXVII. melancholy reflections preyed upon her mind ,
 1558. and threw her into a lingering fever , of which
 she died , after a short and unfortunate reign of
 five years , four months , and eleven days.

Death of the
 queen.
 17th Nov.

IT is not necessary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princess. She possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable : and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumstance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding. And amidst that complication of vices , which entered into her composition, we shall scarcely find any virtue but sincerity : a quality, which she seems to have maintained throughout her whole life ; except in the beginning of her reign , when the necessity of her affairs obliged her to make some promises to the protestants, which she certainly never intended to perform. But in these cases a weak bigotted woman, under the government of priests, easily finds casuistry sufficient to justify to herself the violation of a promise. She appears also, as well as her father, to have been susceptible of some attachments of friendship ; and that without the caprice and inconstancy which were so remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that, in many circumstances of her life, she gave indications of resolution and vigor of mind ; a quality, which seems to have been inherent in her family.

CARDINAL Pole had long been sickly, from an intermitting fever; and he died the same day with the queen; about sixteen hours after her. The benign character of this prelate, the modesty and humanity of his deportment, made him be universally beloved; infomuch that, in a nation, where the most furious persecution was carried on, and where the most violent religious factions prevailed, entire justice, even by most of the reformers, has been done to his merit. The haughty pontiff, Paul IV. had entertained some prejudices against him: And when England declared war against Henry, the ally of that pope, he seized the opportunity of revenge; and revoking Pole's legantine commission, appointed in his room cardinal Peyto, an Observantine friar and confessor to the queen. But Mary would never permit the new legate to act upon the commission; and Paul was afterwards obliged to restore cardinal Pole to his authority.

THERE occur few general remarks, besides what have already been made in the course of our narration, with regard to the general state of the kingdom during this reign. The naval power of England was then so inconsiderable, that, fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet, both for repairing and victualling it, it was computed that ten thousand pounds a-year would afterwards answer all necessary charges ⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 259.

C H A P. XXXVII. 1558. The arbitrary proceedings of the queen, above-mentioned, joined to many monopolies granted by this princess, as well as by her father, checked the growth of commerce; and so much the more, as all other princes in Europe either were not permitted, or did not find it necessary, to proceed in so tyrannical a manner. Acts of parliament, both in the last reign and in the beginning of the present, had laid the same impositions on the merchants of the stil-yard as on other aliens: Yet the queen, immediately after her marriage, complied with the solicitations of the emperor, and, by her prerogative, suspended those laws⁵¹. No body in that age pretended to question this exercise of prerogative. The historians are entirely silent with regard to it; and it is only by the collection of public papers that it is handed down to us.

AN absurd law had been made in the preceding reign, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth unless he had served an apprenticeship of seven years. The law was repealed in the first year of the queen; and this plain reason given, that it had occasioned the decay of the woollen manufactory, and had ruined several towns⁵². It is strange that Edward's law should have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth; and still more strange, that it should still subsist.

A PASSAGE to Archangel had been discovered

⁵¹ Rymer, vol. xv. p. 364. ⁵² 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 7.

by the English during the last reign; and a beneficial trade with Muscovy had been established. A solemn embassy was sent by the czar to queen Mary. The ambassadors were shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland; but being hospitably entertained there, they proceeded on their journey, and were received at London with great pomp and solemnity⁵³. This seems to have been the first intercourse, which that empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.

A LAW was passed in this reign⁵⁴, by which the number of horses, arms, and furniture, was fixed, which each person, according to the extent of his property, should be provided with for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thousand pounds a-year, for instance, was obliged to maintain at his own charge six horses fit for demi-lances, of which three at least to be furnished with sufficient harness, steel saddles, and weapons proper for the demi-lances; and ten horses fit for light horsemen, with furniture and weapons proper for them: He was obliged to have forty corslets furnished: fifty almain revets, or instead of them, forty coats of plate, corslets or brigandines furnished; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty sheafs of arrows, thirty steel caps or skulls, twenty black bills or halberts, twenty haquebuts, and twenty morions or sallets. We may remark,

⁵³ Hollingshed, p. 732. Heylin, p. 71.

⁵⁴ 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. cap. 2.

C H A P. that a man of a thousand marks of stock was
 XXXVII. rated equal to one of two hundred pounds a-year:

1558.

A proof that few or none at that time lived on their stock in money, and that great profits were made by the merchants in the course of trade. There is no class above a thousand pounds a-year.

WE may form a notion of the little progress made in arts and refinement about this time from one circumstance: A man of no less rank than the comptroller of Edward VI's household paid only thirty shillings a-year of our present money for his house in Channel Row⁵⁵: Yet labor and provisions, and consequently houses, were only about a third of the present price. Erasmus ascribes the frequent plagues in England to the nastiness and dirt and slovenly habits among the people. "The floors," says he, "are commonly of clay, "strewn with rushes, under which lies unmolested "an ancient collection of beer, grease, fragments, "bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, "and every thing that is nasty⁵⁶."

HOLLINGSHEAD, who lived in queen Elizabeth's reign, gives a very curious account of the plain or rather rude way of living of the preceding generation. There scarcely was a chimney to the houses, even in considerable towns: The fire was kindled by the wall, and the smoke sought its way out at the roof, or door, or windows: The houses were nothing but wattling plastered

⁵⁵ Nicholson's Historical Libraries. ⁵⁶ Eras. Epist. 432.

over with clay: The people slept on straw pallets, and had a good round log under their head for a pillow; and almost all the furniture and utensils were of wood ⁵⁷. C H A P. XXXVII. 1558.

IN this reign we find the first general law with regard to high ways, which were appointed to be repaired by parish duty all over England ⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ See note [D] at the end of the volume.

⁵⁸ 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. cap. 8.

ELIZABETH.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Queen's popularity—Re-establishment of the protestant religion—A parliament—Peace with France—Disgust between the queen and Mary queen of Scots—Affairs of Scotland—Reformation in Scotland—Civil wars in Scotland—Interposal of the queen in the affairs of Scotland—Settlement of Scotland—French affairs—Arrival of Mary in Scotland—Bigotry of the Scotch Reformers—Wise government of Elizabeth.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1558.

Queen's po-
pularity.

IN a nation so divided as the English, it could scarcely be expected, that the death of one sovereign, and the accession of another, who was generally believed to have embraced opposite principles to those which prevailed, could be the object of universal satisfaction: Yet so much were men displeased with the present conduct of affairs, and such apprehensions were entertained of futurity, that the people, overlooking their theological disputes, expressed a general and unfeigned joy that the sceptre had passed into the hand of Elizabeth. That princess had discovered great prudence in her conduct during the reign of her sister; and as men were sensible of the imminent danger, to which she was every moment exposed, compassion towards her situation, and concern for her safety, had rendered her, to an uncommon degree, the favorite of the nation. A parliament had been assembled a few days before Mary's death,

and when Heathe, archbishop of York, then chancellor, notified to them that event, scarcely an interval of regret appeared; and the two houses immediately resounded with the joyful acclamations of "God save queen Elizabeth: Long and happily may she reign." The people, less actuated by faction, and less influenced by private views, expressed a joy still more general and hearty on her proclamation; and the auspicious commencement of this reign prognosticated that felicity and glory, which, during its whole course, so uniformly attended it ¹.

ELIZABETH was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death; and after a few days she went thence to London through crowds of people, who strove with each other in giving her the strongest testimony of their affection. On her entrance into the Tower, she could not forbear reflecting on the great difference between her present fortune and that which a few years before had attended her, when she was conducted to that place as a prisoner, and lay there exposed to all the bigotted malignity of her enemies. She fell on her knees, and expressed her thanks to Heaven, for the deliverance, which the Almighty had granted her from her bloody persecutors; a deliverance, she said, no less miraculous than that which Daniel had received from the den of lions. This act of pious gratitude seems to have been the last circumstance, in which she remembered any past

¹ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 373.

C H A P. hardships and injuries. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable, she buried all offences
XXXVIII. in oblivion, and received with affability even
1558. those who had acted with the greatest malevolence against her. Sir Harry Benningfield himself, to whose custody she had been committed, and who had treated her with severity, never felt, during the whole course of her reign, any effects of her resentment². Yet was not the gracious reception, which she gave, prostitute and undistinguishing. When the bishops came in a body to make their obeisance to her, she expressed to all of them sentiments of regard; except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside, as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity³.

AFTER employing a few days in ordering her domestic affairs, Elizabeth notified to foreign courts, her sister's death, and her own accession. She sent Lord Cobham to the Low Countries, where Philip then resided; and she took care to express to that monarch, her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her, and her desire of persevering in that friendship which had so happily commenced between them. Philip, who had long foreseen this event, and who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England, of which he had failed in espousing Mary, immediately dispatched orders to the duke of Feria, his ambassador at London,

² Burnet, vol. ii. p. 374.

³ Ibid. Heylin, p. 102.

C H A P.

XXXVIII.

1558.

to make propofals of marriage to the queen; and he offered to procure from Rome a difpenfation for that purpofe. But Elizabeth foon came to the refolution of declining the propofal. She faw, that the nation had entertained an extreme averfion to the Spanifh alliance during her fifter's reign; and that one great caufe of the popularity, which ſhe herfelf enjoyed, was the profpect of being freed, by her means, from the danger of foreign fubjection. She was fenfible, that her affinity with Philip was exactly fimilar to that of her father with Catherine of Arragon; and that her marrying that monarch was, in effect, declaring herfelf illegitimate, and incapable of fucceeding to the throne. And though the power of the Spanifh monarchy might ftill be fufficient, in oppofition to all pretenders, to fupport her title, her mafculine fpirit difdained fuch precarious dominion, which, as it would depend folely on the power of another, muft be exercifed according to his inclinations⁴. But while thefe views prevented her from entertaining any thoughts of a marriage with Philip, ſhe gave him an obliging, though evafive, anfwer; and he ftill retained fuch hopes of fuccefs, that he fent a messenger to Rome, with orders to follicit the difpenfation.

THE queen too, on her fifter's death, had written to Sir Edward Carne, the Englifh ambaffador at Rome, to notify her acceffion to the pope; but the precipitate nature of Paul broke through

⁴ Camden in Kennet, p. 370. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 375.

C H A P.
XXXVIII
1558.

all the cautious measures concerted by this young princess. He told Carne, that England was a fief of the holy see; and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have assumed, without his participation, the title and authority of queen: That being illegitimate, she could not possibly inherit that kingdom; nor could he annul the sentence pronounced by Clement VII. and Paul III. with regard to Henry's marriage: That were he to proceed with rigor, he should punish this criminal invasion of his rights, by rejecting all her applications; but being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would still keep the door of grace open to her: And that if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit entirely to his will, she should experience the utmost lenity, compatible with the dignity of the apostolic see^s. When this answer was reported to Elizabeth, she was astonished at the character of that aged pontiff; and having recalled her ambassador, she continued with more determined resolution to pursue those measures, which already she had secretly embraced.

Re-esta-
blishment of
the protest-
ant reli-
gion.

THE queen, not to alarm the partisans of the catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors; but in order to balance their authority, she added eight more, who were known to be inclined to the protestant communion; the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir

^s Father Paul, lib. 5.

Ambrose Cave, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created lord keeper, and Sir William Cecil, secretary of state ^{C H A P.} ^{XXXVIII.} ^{1558.} With these counsellors, particularly Cecil, she frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of restoring the protestant religion, and the means of executing that great enterprize. Cecil told her, that the greater part of the nation had, ever since her father's reign, inclined to the reformation; and though her sister had constrained them to profess the ancient faith, the cruelties, exercised by her ministers, had still more alienated their affections from it: That happily the interests of the sovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people; nor was her title to the crown compatible with the authority of the Roman pontiff: That a sentence, so solemnly pronounced by two popes against her mother's marriage, could not possibly be recalled, without inflicting a mortal wound on the credit of the see of Rome; and even if she were allowed to retain the crown, it would only be on an uncertain and dependent footing: That this circumstance alone counterbalanced all dangers whatsoever; and these dangers themselves, if narrowly examined, would be found very little formidable: That the curses and execrations of the Romish church, when not seconded by military force, were, in the present age, more an object of ridicule than of terror, and had now as little influence in this world as in the next: That

⁶ Strype's Ann. vol. i. p. 5.

C H A P. though the bigotry or ambition of Henry or Philip
 XXXVIII. might incline them to execute a sentence of ex-
 1558. communication against her, their interests were
 so incompatible, that they never could concur
 in any plan of operations; and the enmity of the
 one would always ensure to her the friendship
 of the other: That if they encouraged the dis-
 contents of her catholic subjects, their dominions
 also abounded with protestants, and it would
 be easy to retaliate upon them: That even such
 of the English as seemed at present zealously at-
 tached to the catholic faith, would, most of
 them, embrace the religion of their new sovereign;
 and the nation had of late been so much accus-
 tomed to these revolutions, that men had lost all
 idea of truth and falsehood in such subjects:
 That the authority of Henry VIII. so highly raised
 by many concurring circumstances, first inured
 the people to this submissive deference; and it
 was the less difficult for succeeding princes to
 continue the nation in a track, to which it had
 so long been accustomed: And that it would be
 easy for her, by bestowing on protestants all pre-
 ferment in civil offices and the militia, the church
 and the universities, both to ensure her own
 authority, and to render her religion entirely
 predominant⁷.

THE education of Elizabeth, as well as her
 interest, led her to favor the reformation; and
 she remained not long in suspense with regard to

⁷ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 377. Camden, p. 370.

the party, which she should embrace. But though determined in her own mind, she resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps, and not to imitate the example of Mary, in encouraging the bigots of her party to make immediately a violent invasion on the established religion⁸. She thought it requisite, however, to discover such symptoms of her intentions, as might give encouragement to the protestants, so much depressed by the late violent persecutions. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners, who were confined on account of religion. We are told of a pleasantry of one Rainsford on this occasion, who said to the queen, that he had a petition to present her in behalf of other prisoners called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John: She readily replied, that it behoved her first to consult the prisoners themselves, and to learn of them whether they desired that liberty, which he demanded for them⁹.

ELIZABETH also proceeded to exert, in favor of the reformers, some acts of power which were authorized by the extent of royal prerogative, during that age. Finding, that the protestant teachers; irritated by persecution, broke out in a furious attack on the ancient superstition, and that the Romanists replied with no less zeal and acrimony, she published a proclamation, by which she inhibited all preaching without a special

⁸ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 378. Camden, [p. 371.

⁹ Heylin, p. 103.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1558.

licence¹⁰; and though she dispensed with these orders in favor of some preachers of her own sect, she took care, that they should be the most calm and moderate of the party. She also suspended the laws so far as to order a great part of the service; the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the gospels; to be read in English. And having first published injunctions, that all the churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence; an innovation, which, however frivolous it may appear, implied the most material consequences¹¹.

THESE declarations of her intention, concurring with preceding suspicions, made the bishops foresee with certainty a revolution in religion. They therefore refused to officiate at her coronation; and it was with some difficulty, that the bishop of Carlisle was at last prevailed on to perform the ceremony. When she was conducted through London, amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, a boy, who personated Truth, was let down from one of the triumphal arches, and presented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the book with the most gracious deportment; placed it next her bosom; and declared, that, amidst all the costly testimonies, which the city had that day given her of their attachment, this

¹⁰ Heylin, p. 104. Strype, vol. i. p. 41.

¹¹ Camden, p. 371. Heylin, p. 104. Strype, vol. i. p. 54. Stowe, p. 635.

present was by far the most precious and most acceptable¹². Such were the innocent artifices, by which Elizabeth insinuated herself into the affections of her subjects. Open in her address, gracious and affable in all public appearances, she rejoiced in the concourse of her subjects, entered into all their pleasures and amusements, and without departing from her dignity, which she knew well how to preserve, she acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predecessors or successors ever could attain. Her own sex exulted to see a woman hold the reins of empire with such prudence and fortitude : And while a young princess of twenty-five years (for that was her age at her accession) who possessed all the graces and insinuation, though not all the beauty of her sex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her services, her authority, though corroborated by the strictest bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1558.

A SOVEREIGN of this disposition was not likely to offend her subjects by any useless or violent exertions of power ; and Elizabeth, though she threw out such hints as encouraged the protestants, delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of the parliament, which was summoned to assemble. The elections had gone entirely against the catholics, who seem not indeed to have made

A parlia-
ment.

¹² Burnet, vol. ii. p. 380. Strype, vol. i. p. 29.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1558.

any great struggle for the superiority¹³; and the houses met, in a disposition of gratifying the queen in every particular, which she could desire of them. They began the session with an unanimous declaration, "that queen Elizabeth was, "and ought to be, as well by the word of God, "as the common and statute laws of the realm, "the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the "crown, lawfully descended from the blood royal, "according to the order of succession, settled in "the 35th of Henry VIII¹⁴." This act of recognition was probably dictated by the queen herself and her ministers; and she showed her magnanimity, as well as moderation, in the terms which she employed on that occasion. She followed not Mary's practice in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act formerly made against her own legitimacy: She knew, that this attempt must be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceased sister; and as all the world was sensible, that Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn was merely the effect of his usual violence and caprice, she scorned to found her

¹³ Notwithstanding the bias of the nation towards the protestant sect, it appears, that some violence, at least according to our present ideas, was used in these elections: Five candidates were nominated by the court to each borough and three to each county; and by the sheriffs, authority the members were chosen from among these candidates. See *State papers collected by Edward earl of Clarendon*, p. 92. ¹⁴ 1 Eliz. cap. 3.

title on any act of an assembly, which had too much prostituted its authority by its former variable, servile, and iniquitous decisions. Satisfied therefore in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted, the less anxiety she discovered in fortifying it by votes and inquiries; she took possession of the throne, both as her birthright, and as ensured to her by former acts of parliament; and she never appeared anxious to distinguish these titles¹⁵.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1558.

THE first bill brought into parliament with a view of trying their disposition on the head of religion, was that for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the queen. This point being gained without much difficulty, a bill was next introduced, annexing the supremacy to the crown; and though the queen was there denominated *governess*, not *head*, of the church, it conveyed the same extensive power, which, under the latter title, had been exercised by her father and brother. All the bishops who were present in the upper house strenuously opposed this law; and as they possessed more learning than the temporal peers, they triumphed in the debate; but the majority of voices in that house, as well as among the commons, was against them. By this act the crown, without the concurrence, either of the parliament or even of the convocation,

¹⁵ Camden, p. 372. Heylin, p. 107, 108.

C H A P. was vested with the whole spiritual power; might
 XXXVIII. repress all heresies, might establish or repeal all
 1558. canons, might alter every point of discipline, and
 might ordain or abolish any religious rite or ceremony¹⁶. In determining heresy, the sovereign was only limited (if that could be called a limitation) to such doctrines as had been adjudged heresy, by the authority of the Scripture, by the first four general councils, or by any general council, which followed the Scripture as their rule, or to such other doctrines as should hereafter be denominated heresy by the parliament and convocation. In order to exercise this authority, the queen, by a clause of the act, was empowered to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper; and on this clause was afterwards founded the court of ecclesiastical commission; which assumed large discretionary, not to say arbitrary powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the constitution. Their proceedings indeed were only consistent with absolute monarchy; but were entirely suitable to the genius of the act on which they were established; an act that at once gave the crown alone all the power, which had formerly been claimed by the popes, but which even these usurping prelates had never been able fully to exercise, without some concurrence of the national clergy.

¹⁶ 1 Eliz. cap. 1. This last power was a-new recognized in the act of uniformity. 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

WHOEVER refused to take on oath, acknowledging the queen's supremacy, was incapacitated from holding any office; whoever denied the supremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the first offence, all his goods and chattels; for the second, was subjected to the penalty of a premunire; but the third offence was declared treason. These punishments, however severe, were less rigorous than those which were formerly, during the reigns of her father and brother, inflicted in like cases.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1558.

A LAW was passed, confirming all the statutes enacted in king Edward's time with regard to religion¹⁷: The nomination of bishops was given to the crown without any election of the chapters: The queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any see, to seize all the temporalities, and to bestow on the bishop-elect an equivalent in the impropriations belonging to the crown. This pretended equivalent was commonly much inferior in value; and thus the queen, amidst all her concern for religion, followed the example of the preceding reformers, in committing depredations on the ecclesiastical revenues.

THE bishops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leases longer than twenty-one years or three lives. This law seemed to be meant for securing the property of the church; but as an exception was left in favor of the crown, great abuses still

¹⁷ 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

C H A P. prevailed. It was usual for the courtiers during
 XXXVIII. this reign, to make an agreement with a bishop
 1558. or incumbent; and to procure a fictitious aliena-
 tion to the queen, who afterwards transferred
 the lands to the person agreed on¹⁸. This method
 of pillaging the church was not remedied till the
 beginning of James I. The present depression of
 the clergy exposed them to all injuries; and the
 laity never stopped, till they had reduced the
 church to such poverty, that her plunder was no
 longer a compensation for the odium incurred
 by it.

A SOLEMN and public disputation was held
 during this session, in presence of lord keeper
 Bacon, between the divines of the protestant
 and those of the catholic communion. The
 champions, appointed to defend the religion of
 the sovereign, were, as in all former instances,
 entirely triumphant; and the popish disputants,
 being pronounced refractory and obstinate, were
 even punished by imprisonment¹⁹. Emboldened
 by this victory, the protestants ventured on the
 last and most important step, and brought into
 parliament a bill²⁰ for abolishing the mass, and
 re-establishing the liturgy of king Edward. Penal-
 ties were enacted, as well against those who
 departed from this mode of worship, as against
 those who absented themselves from the church
 and the sacraments. And thus in one session,

¹⁸ Strype, vol. i. p. 79. ¹⁹ Ibid. p. 95.

²⁰ 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

without any violence, tumult, or clamor, was the whole system of religion altered, on the very commencement of a reign, and by the will of a young woman, whose title to the crown was by many thought liable to great objections: An event, which, though it may appear surprising to men in the present age, was every where expected on the first intelligence of Elizabeth's accession.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.

THE commons also made a sacrifice to the queen, more difficult to obtain than that of any articles of faith: They voted a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on moveables, together with two fifteenths ²¹. The house in no instance departed from the most respectful deference and complaisance towards the queen. Even the importunate address which they made her on the conclusion of the session, to fix her choice of a husband, could not, they supposed, be very disagreeable to one of her sex and age. The address was couched in the most respectful expressions; yet met with a refusal from the queen. She told the speaker, that, as the application from the house was conceived in general terms, only recommending marriage, without pretending to direct her choice of a husband, she could not take offence at the address, or regard it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her: That any

1559.

²¹ See note [E] at the end of the volume.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1559.

farther interposition on their part would have ill become either them to make as subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess: That even while she was a private person, and exposed to much danger, she had always declined that engagement, which she regarded as an incumbrance; much more, at present, would she persevere in this sentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the interests of religion and the happiness of her subjects: That as England was her husband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here she showed her finger with the same gold ring upon it, with which she had solemnly betrothed herself to the kingdom at her inauguration) so all Englishmen were her children; and while she was employed in rearing or governing such a family, she could not deem herself barren, or her life useless and unprofitable: That if she ever entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her subjects' welfare would still be uppermost in her thoughts; but should she live and die a virgin, she doubted not but divine Providence, seconded by their counsels and her own measures, would be able to prevent all dispute with regard to the succession, and secure them a sovereign, who, perhaps better than her own issue, would imitate her example, in loving and cherishing her people: And that for her part, she desired that no higher character, or fairer remembrance of her should be transmitted

to posterity, than to have this inscription engraved on her tomb stone, when she should pay the last debt to nature; "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived
"and died a maiden queen"²².

C. H. A. P.
XXXVIII.
1559.

AFTER the prorogation of the parliament²³,
the laws, enacted with regard to religion, were
put in execution, and met with little opposition
from any quarter. The liturgy was again intro-
duced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of
supremacy was tendered to the clergy. The
number of bishops had been reduced to fourteen
by a sickly season, which preceded; and all
these, except the bishop of Landaff, having
refused compliance, were degraded from their
sees: But of the inferior clergy throughout all
England, where there are near 10,000 parishes,
only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries,
fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons,
and as many deans, sacrificed their livings to
their religious principles²⁴. Those in high eccle-
siastic stations, being exposed to the eyes of the
public, seem chiefly to have placed a point of
honor in their perseverance; but on the whole,

8th May.

²² Camden, p. 357. Sir Simon d'Ewes.

²³ It is thought remarkable by Camden, that though
this session was the first of the reign, no person was at-
tainted; but on the contrary, some restored in blood by
the parliament. A good symptom of the lenity, at least
of the prudence, of the queen's government; and that
it should appear remarkable, is a proof of the rigor of
preceding reigns. ²⁴ Camden, p. 376. Heylin, p. 115.
Strype, vol. i. p. 73. with some small variations.

C H A P. the protestants, in the former change introduced
 XXXVIII. by Mary, appear to have been much more rigid
 1559. and conscientious. Though the catholic religion, adapting itself to the senses, and enjoining observances, which enter into the common train of life, does at present lay faster hold on the mind than the reformed, which, being chiefly spiritual, resembles more a system of metaphysics; yet was the proportion of zeal, as well as of knowledge, during the first ages after the reformation, much greater on the side of the protestants. The catholics continued, ignorantly and supinely, in their ancient belief, or rather their ancient practices: But the reformers, obliged to dispute on every occasion, and inflamed to a degree of enthusiasm by novelty and persecution, had strongly attached themselves to their tenets; and were ready to sacrifice their fortunes and even their lives, in support of their speculative and abstract principles.

THE forms and ceremonies, still preserved in the English liturgy, as they bore some resemblance to the ancient service, tended farther to reconcile the catholics to the established religion; and as the queen permitted no other mode of worship, and at the same time struck out every thing that could be offensive to them in the new liturgy²⁵, even those who were addicted to the Romish communion made no scruple of attending the established church. Had Elizabeth

²⁵ Heylin, p. 111.

gratified her own inclinations, the exterior appearance, which is the chief circumstance with the people, would have been still more similar between the new and the ancient form of worship. Her love of state and magnificence, which she affected in every thing, inspired her with an inclination towards the pomp of the catholic religion; and it was merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party, that she gave up either images or the addresses to saints, or prayers for the dead ²⁶. Some foreign princes interposed to procure the Romanists the privilege of separate assemblies in particular cities, but the queen would not comply with their request; and she represented the manifest danger of disturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions ²⁷.

WHILE the queen and parliament were employed in settling the public religion, the negociations for a peace were still conducted, first at Cercamp, then at Cateau-Cambresis, between the ministers of France, Spain, and England; and Elizabeth, though equally prudent, was not equally successful in this transaction. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure the restitution of Calais, both as bound in honor to indemnify England, which, merely on his account, had been drawn into the war; and as engaged in interest to remove France to a distance from his frontiers in

Peace with
France.

²⁶ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 376. 397. Camden, p. 371.

²⁷ Camden, p. 378. Strype, vol. i. 150. 370.

C H A P. the Low Countries. So long as he entertained
 XXXVIII. hopes of espousing the queen, he delayed con-
 1559. cluding a peace with Henry; and even after the
 change of religion in England deprived him of
 all such views, his ministers hinted to her a pro-
 posal, which may be regarded as reasonable and
 honorable. Though all his own terms with
 France were settled, he seemed willing to con-
 tinue the war, till she should obtain satisfaction;
 provided she would stipulate to adhere to the
 Spanish alliance, and continue hostilities against
 Henry, during the course of six years²⁸: But
 Elizabeth, after consulting with her ministers,
 wisely rejected this proposal. She was sensible
 of the low state of her finances; the great debts
 contracted by her father, brother, and sister; the
 disorders introduced into every part of the ad-
 ministration; the divisions by which her people
 were agitated; and she was convinced that no-
 thing but tranquillity during some years could bring
 the kingdom again into a flourishing condition,
 or enable her to act with dignity and vigor, in
 her transactions with foreign nations. Well ac-
 quainted with the value which Henry put upon
 Calais, and the impossibility, during the present
 emergence, of recovering it by treaty, she was
 willing rather to suffer that loss, than submit to
 such a dependence on Spain, as she must expect
 to fall into, if she continued pertinaciously in her
 present demand. She ordered, therefore, her

²⁸ Forbes's Full View, vol. i. p. 59.

ambassadors, lord Effingham, the bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, to conclude the negociation, and to settle a peace with Henry, on any reasonable terms. Henry offered to stipulate a marriage between the eldest daughter of the dauphin, and the eldest son of Elizabeth; and to engage for the restitution of Calais as the dowry of that princess²⁹; but as the queen was sensible, that this treaty would appear to the world a palpable evasion, she insisted upon more equitable, at least, more plausible conditions. It was at last agreed, that Henry should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in case of failure, he should pay five hundred thousand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais still remain; that he should find the security of seven or eight foreign merchants, not natives of France, for the payment of this sum; that he should deliver five hostages till that security were provided; that if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland during the interval, she should forfeit all title to Calais but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he should be obliged immediately to restore that fortress³⁰. All men of penetration easily saw, that these stipulations were but a colorable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excused the queen on account of the necessity of her affairs; and they even extolled her prudence, in submitting, without farther struggle, to that necessity. A peace with Scotland was a necessary consequence of that with France.

²⁹ Forbes, vol. i. p. 54.
tom. xv. p. 505.

³⁰ Ibid. p. 68. Rymer,

C H A P. PHILIP and Henry terminated hostilities by a
 XXXVIII. mutual restitution of all places taken during the
 1559. course of the war; and Philip espoused the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of France, formerly betrothed to his son Don Carlos. The duke of Savoy married Margaret, Henry's sister, and obtained a restitution of all his dominions of Savoy and Piedmont, except a few towns, retained by France. And thus general tranquillity seemed to be restored to Europe.

Disgust between the queen, and Mary queen of Scots.

BUT though peace was concluded between France and England, there soon appeared a ground of quarrel, of the most serious nature, and which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences. The two marriages of Henry VIII. that with Catherine of Arragon, and that with Anne Boleyn, were incompatible with each other; and it seemed impossible, that both of them could be regarded as valid and legal: But still the birth of Elizabeth lay under some disadvantages, to which that of her sister, Mary, was not exposed. Henry's first marriage had obtained the sanction of all the powers, both civil and ecclesiastical, which were then acknowledged in England; and it was natural, for protestants as well as Romanists, to allow, on account of the sincere intention of the parties, that their issue ought to be regarded as legitimate. But his divorce and second marriage had been concluded in direct opposition to the see of Rome; and though they had been ratified by the authority both of the English parliament and

and convocation, those who were strongly attached to the catholic communion, and who reasoned with great strictness, were led to regard them as entirely invalid, and to deny altogether the queen's right of succession. The next heir of blood was the queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the great power of that princess, joined to her plausible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth. The king of France had secretly been soliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication against the queen; and she had here been beholden to the good offices of Philip, who, from interest more than either friendship or generosity, had negociated in her favor, and had successfully opposed the pretensions of Henry. But the court of France was not discouraged with this repulse: The duke of Guise, and his brothers thinking, that it would much augment their credit, if their niece should bring an accession of England, as she had already done of Scotland, to the crown of France, engaged the king not to neglect the claim; and, by their persuasion, he ordered his son and daughter-in-law to assume openly the arms as well as title of England, and to quarter these arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the English ambassador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evasive answer; that as the queen of Scots was descended from the blood royal of England, she was entitled, by the example of many princes, to assume the arms of that kingdom. But besides that this

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1559.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1559.

practice had never prevailed without permission being first obtained, and without making a visible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly saw, that this pretension had not been advanced during the reign of her sister Mary; and that, therefore, the king of France intended, on the first opportunity, to dispute her legitimacy, and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, she thenceforth conceived a violent jealousy against the queen of Scots; and was determined, as far as possible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor, Francis II. still continued to assume, without reserve, the title of king of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favorable opportunity, both of revenging the injury, and providing for her own safety.

Affairs of
Scotland.

THE murder of the cardinal-primate at St. Andrews had deprived the Scottish catholics of a head, whose severity, courage, and capacity had rendered him extremely formidable to the innovators in religion; and the execution of the laws against heresy began thenceforth to be more remiss. The queen-regent governed the kingdom by prudent and moderate counsels; and as she was not disposed to sacrifice the civil interests of the state to the bigotry or interests of the clergy,

she deemed it more expedient to temporize, and to connive at the progress of a doctrine, which she had not power entirely to repress. When informed of the death of Edward, and the accession of Mary to the crown of England, she entertained hopes, that the Scottish reformers, deprived of the countenance which they received from that powerful kingdom, would lose their ardor with their prospect of success, and would gradually return to the faith of their ancestors. But the progress and revolutions of religion are little governed by the usual maxims of civil policy; and the event much disappointed the expectations of the regent. Many of the English preachers terrified with the severity of Mary's government, took shelter in Scotland, where they found more protection, and a milder administration; and while they propagated their theological tenets, they filled the whole kingdom with a just horror against the cruelties of the bigotted catholics, and showed their disciples the fate, which they must expect, if ever their adversaries should attain an uncontrouled authority over them.

A HIERARCHY, moderate in its acquisitions of power and riches, may safely grant a toleration to sectaries; and the more it softens the zeal of innovators by lenity and liberty, the more securely will it possess those advantages, which the legal establishments bestow upon it. But where superstition has raised a church to such an exorbitant height as that of Rome, persecution is less the result of bigotry in the priests, than of a necessary

C H A P. policy; and the rigor of law is the only method
 XXXVIII. of repelling the attacks of men, who, besides
 1559. religious zeal, have so many other motives, derived both from public and private interest, to engage them on the side of innovation. But though such overgrown hierarchies may long support themselves by these violent expedients, the time comes, when severities tend only to enrage the new sectaries, and make them break through all bounds of reason and moderation. This crisis was now visibly approaching in Scotland; and whoever considers merely the transactions resulting from it, will be inclined to throw the blame equally on both parties; whoever enlarges his view, and reflects on the situations, will remark the necessary progress of human affairs, and the operation of those principles, which are inherent in human nature.

Reforma-
 tion in Scot-
 land.

SOME heads of the reformers in Scotland, such as the earl of Argyle, his son lord Lorne, the earls of Morton, and Glencairne, Erskine of Dun, and others, observing the danger to which they were exposed, and desirous to propagate their principles, entered privately into a bond or association; and called themselves the *Congregation of the Lord*, in contradistinction to the established church, which they denominated the congregation of Satan. The tenor of the bond was as follows: "We perceiving how Satan, in his members, the antichrist of our time, do cruelly rage, seeking to overthrow and to destroy the gospel of Christ and his congregation, ought, accord-

“ ing to our bounden duty, to strive, in our C H A P.
 “ master’s cause, even unto the death, being XXXVIII.
 “ certain of the victory in him. We do therefore 1559.
 “ promise, before the majesty of God and his
 “ congregation, that we, by his grace, shall with
 “ all diligence continually apply our whole power,
 “ substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set
 “ forward, and establish the most blessed word
 “ of God and his congregation; and shall labor,
 “ by all possible means, to have faithful ministers,
 “ truly and purely to minister Christ’s gospel and
 “ sacraments to his people: We shall maintain
 “ them, nourish them, and defend them, the
 “ whole congregation of Christ, and every member
 “ thereof, by our whole power, and at the
 “ hazard of our lives, against Satan, and all
 “ wicked power, who may intend tyranny and
 “ trouble against the said congregation: Unto
 “ which holy word and congregation we do join
 “ ourselves; and we forsake and renounce the
 “ congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious
 “ abomination and idolatry thereof; and moreover
 “ shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto,
 “ by this faithful promise before God, testified
 “ to this congregation by our subscriptions. At
 “ Edinburgh, the third of December, 1557³¹. ”

HAD the subscribers of this zealous league been
 content only to demand a toleration of the new
 opinions; however incompatible their pretensions
 might have been with the policy of the church

³¹ Keith, p. 66. Knox, p. 101.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1552.

of Rome, they would have had the praise of opposing tyrannical laws, enacted to support an establishment prejudicial to civil society: But it is plain, that they carried their views much farther; and their practice immediately discovered the spirit by which they were actuated. Supported by the authority, which, they thought, belonged to them as the congregation of the Lord, they ordained, that prayers in the vulgar tongue³² should be used in all the parish churches of the kingdom; and that preaching, and the interpretation of the scriptures should be practised in private houses, till God should move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers³³. Such bonds of association are always the forerunners of rebellion; and this violent invasion of the established religion was the actual commencement of it.

BEFORE this league was publicly known or avowed, the clergy, alarmed with the progress of the reformation, attempted to recover their lost authority by a violent exercise of power, which tended still farther to augment the zeal and number of their enemies. Hamilton, the primate, seized Walter Mill, a priest of an irreproachable life, who had embraced the new doctrines; and having tried him at St. Andrews, condemned him to the flames for heresy. Such general aversion was entertained against this barbarity, that it was

³² The reformers used at that time king Edward's liturgy in Scotland. Forbes, p. 155. ³³ Keith, p. 66. Knox, p. 101.

some time before the bishops could prevail on any one to act the part of a civil judge, and pronounce sentence upon Mill; and even after the time of his execution was fixed, all the shops of St. Andrews being shut, no one would sell a rope to tie him to the stake, and the primate himself was obliged to furnish this implement. The man bore the torture with that courage, which, though usual on these occasions, always appears supernatural and astonishing to the multitude. The people, to express their abhorrence against the cruelty of the priests, raised a monument of stones on the place of his execution; and as fast as the stones were removed by order of the clergy, they were again supplied from the voluntary zeal of the populace ³⁴. It is in vain for men to oppose the severest punishment to the united motives of religion and public applause; and this was the last barbarity of the kind, which the catholics had the power to exercise in Scotland.

SOME time after, the people discovered their sentiments in such a manner as was sufficient to prognosticate to the priests the fate, which was awaiting them. It was usual on the festival of St. Giles, the tutelar saint of Edinburgh, to carry in procession the image of that saint; but the protestants, in order to prevent the ceremony, found means, on the eve of the festival, to purloin the statue from the church; and they pleased themselves with imagining the surprise and disap-

³⁴ Knox, p. 122.

C H A P. pointment of his votaries. The clergy, however,
 XXXVIII. framed hastily a new image, which, in derision,
 1552. was called by the people young St. Giles; and they
 carried it through the streets, attended by all the
 ecclesiastics in the town and neighbourhood. The
 multitude abstained from violence so long as the
 queen-regent continued a spectator, but the mo-
 ment she retired, they invaded the idol, threw it
 in the mire, and broke it in pieces. The flight
 and terror of the priests and friars, who, it was
 remarked, deserted, in his greatest distress, the
 object of their worship, was the source of univer-
 sal mockery and laughter.

ENCOURAGED by all these appearances the con-
 gregation proceeded with alacrity in openly soli-
 citing subscriptions to their league; and the death
 of Mary of England, with the accession of Eliza-
 beth, which happened about this time, contributed
 to increase their hopes of final success in their
 undertaking. They ventured to present a petition
 to the regent, craving a reformation of the church,
 and of the *wicked, scandalous, detestable* lives of
 the prelates and ecclesiastics³⁵. They framed a
 petition, which they intended to present to par-
 liament, and in which, after premising, that they
 could not communicate with the damnable idolatry,
 and intolerable abuses of the papistical church,
 they desired, that the laws against heretics, should
 be executed by the civil magistrate alone, and
 that the scripture should be the sole rule in judging
 of heresy³⁶. They even petitioned the convoca-

³⁵ Knox, p. 121. ³⁶ Ibid. p. 123.

tion, and insisted, that prayers should be said in the vulgar tongue, and that bishops should be chosen with the consent of the gentry of the diocese, and priests with the consent of the parishioners³⁷. The regent prudently temporized between these parties; and as she aimed at procuring a matrimonial crown for her son-in-law, the dauphin, she was, on that as well as other accounts, unwilling to come to extremities with either of them.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1559.

BUT after this concession was obtained, she received orders from France, probably dictated by the violent spirit of her brothers, to proceed with rigor against the reformers, and to restore the royal authority by some signal act of power³⁸. She made the more eminent of the protestant teachers be cited to appear before the council at Stirling; but when their followers were marching thither in great multitudes, in order to protect and countenance them, she entertained apprehensions of an insurrection, and, it is said, dissipated the people by a promise³⁹, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the ministers. Sentence, however, was passed, by which all the ministers were pronounced rebels on account of their not appearing. A measure which enraged the people, and made them resolve to oppose the regent's authority by force of arms, and to proceed

³⁷ Keith, p. 78. 81, 82.

³⁸ Melvil's Memoirs, p. 24. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 446.

³⁹ See note [F] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. to extremities against the clergy of the established
XXXVIII. religion.

1559.

11th May.

IN this critical time, John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had passed some years in banishment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the highest fanaticism of his sect, augmented by the native ferocity of his own character. He had been invited back to Scotland by the leaders of the reformation; and mounting the pulpit at Perth, during the present ferment of men's minds, he declaimed with his usual vehemence against the idolatry and other abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to exert their utmost zeal for its subversion. A priest was so imprudent after this sermon, as to open his repository of images and relics, and prepare himself to say mass. The audience, exalted to a disposition for any furious enterprise were as much enraged as if the spectacle had not been quite familiar to them: They attacked the priest with fury, broke the images in pieces, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, scattered about the sacred vases; and left no implement of idolatrous worship, as they termed it, entire or undefaced. They thence proceeded, with additional numbers and augmented rage, to the monasteries of the grey and black friars, which they pillaged in an instant: The Carthusians underwent the same fate: And the populace, not content with robbing and expelling the monks, vented their fury on the buildings which had been the receptacles of such abomination; and in

a little time nothing but the walls of these edifices were left standing. The inhabitants of Coupar in Fife soon after imitated the example ⁴⁰.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1559.

THE queen-regent, provoked at these violences, assembled an army, and prepared to chastise the rebels. She had about two thousand French under her command, with a few Scottish troops; and being assisted by such of the nobility as were well affected to her, she pitched her camp within ten miles of Perth. Even the earl of Argyle, and lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the queen's natural brother, though deeply engaged with the reformers, attended the regent in this enterprise, either because they blamed the fury of the populace, or hoped by their own influence and authority to mediate some agreement between the parties. The congregation, on the other hand, made preparations for defence; and being joined by the earl of Glencairne from the west; and being countenanced by many of the nobility and gentry, they appeared formidable from their numbers, as well as from the zeal by which they were animated. They sent an address to the regent, where they plainly insinuated, that, if they were pursued to extremities, by the *cruel beasts* the churchmen, they would have recourse to foreign powers for assistance; and they subscribed themselves her faithful subjects in all things not repugnant to God, assuming, at the same time, the name of the faithful congregation of Christ Jesus⁴¹. They applied to

Civil wars
in Scotland.

⁴⁰ Spotswood, p. 121. Knox, p. 127. ⁴¹ Ibid. p. 129.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1559.

the nobility attending her, and maintained, that their own past violences were justified by the word of God, which commands the godly to destroy idolatry, and all the monuments of it; and though all civil authority was sacred, yet was there a great difference between the authority and the persons who exercised it ⁴¹; and that it ought to be considered, whether or not those abominations, called by the pestilent papists, Religion, and which they defend by fire and sword, be the true religion of Christ Jesus. They remonstrated with such of the queen's army as had formerly embraced their party, and told them, "That as they were already reputed traitors
"by God, they should likewise be excommuni-
"cated from their society, and from the parti-
"cipation of the sacraments of the church,
"which God by his mighty power had erected
"among them; whose ministers have the same
"authority which Christ granted to his apostles
"in these words, *Whose sins ye shall forgive shall
"be forgiven, and whose sins ye shall retain shall be
"retained* ⁴²". We may here see, that these new saints were no less lofty in their pretensions than the ancient hierarchy: No wonder they were enraged against the latter as their rivals in dominion. They joined to all these declarations an address to the established church; and they affixed this title to it: "To the generation of
"antichrist, the pestilent prelates and their sha-

⁴¹ Knox, p. 131. ⁴² Ibid. p. 133.

“ *velings* ⁴³ in Scotland, the congregation of
 “ Christ Jesus within the same sayeth”. The
 tenor of the manifesto was suitable to the title.
 They told the ecclesiastics, “ As ye by tyranny
 “ intend not only to destroy our bodies, but also
 “ by the same to hold our souls in bondage of
 “ the devil, subject to idolatry; so shall we,
 “ with all the force and power which God shall
 “ grant unto us, execute just vengeance and
 “ punishment upon you: Yea, we shall begin
 “ the same war which God commanded Israel to
 “ execute against the Canaanites; that is, con-
 “ tract of peace shall never be made, till you
 “ desist from your open idolatry, and cruel per-
 “ secution of God’s children. And this, in the
 “ name of the eternal God, and of his son Christ
 “ Jesus, whose verity we profess, and Gospel
 “ we have preached, and holy sacraments rightly
 “ administered, we signify unto you, to be our
 “ intent, so far as God will assist us to withstand
 “ your idolatry. Take this for warning, and be
 “ not deceived ⁴⁴. ” With these outrageous symp-
 toms, commenced in Scotland that cant, hypocrisy,
 and fanaticism, which long infested that kingdom,
 and which, though now mollified by the lenity
 of the civil power, is still ready to break out on
 all occasions.

THE queen regent, finding such obstinate zeal
 in the rebels, was content to embrace the coun-

⁴³ A contemptuous term for a priest. ⁴⁴ Keith, p. 85,
 86, 87. Knox, p. 134.

C H A P. fells of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, and
 XXXVIII. to form an accommodation with them. She was
 1559. received into Perth, which submitted, on her
 promising an indemnity for past offences, and
 engaging not to leave any French garrison in the
 place. Complaints, very ill founded, immediately
 arose concerning the infraction of this capitulation.
 Some of the inhabitants, it was pretended, were
 molested on account of the late violences; and
 some companies of Scotch soldiers, supposed to
 be in French pay, were quartered in the town;
 which step, though taken on very plausible
 grounds, was loudly exclaimed against by the
 congregation⁴⁵. It is asserted that the regent,
 to justify these measures, declared, that princes
 ought not to have their promises too strictly urg-
 ed upon them; nor was any faith to be kept
 with heretics: And that for her part, could she
 find as good a color, she would willingly be-
 reave all these men of their lives and fortunes⁴⁶.
 But it is no wise likely, that such expressions
 ever dropped from this prudent and virtuous
 princess. On the contrary, it appears, that all
 these violences were disagreeable to her; that
 she was in this particular over-ruled by the au-
 thority of the French counsellors placed about
 her; and that she often thought, if the manage-
 ment of those affairs had been intrusted wholly to
 herself, she 'could easily, without force, have
 accommodated all differences⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ Knox, p. 139. ⁴⁶ Ibid. Spotswood, p. 123.

⁴⁷ See note [G] at the end of the volume.

THE congregation, inflamed with their own zeal, and enraged by these disappointments, remained not long in tranquillity. Even before they left Perth, and while as yet they had no color to complain of any violation of treaty, they had signed a new covenant, in which, besides their engagements to mutual defence, they vowed, in the name of God, to employ their whole power in destroying every thing that dishonored his holy name; and this covenant was subscribed, among others, by Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews⁴⁸. These two leaders now desired no better pretence for deserting the regent and openly joining their associates, than the complaints, however doubtful, or rather false, of her breach of promise. The congregation also, encouraged by this accession of force, gave themselves up entirely to the furious zeal of Knox, and renewed at Crail, Anstruther, and other places in Fife, like depredations on the churches and monasteries with those formerly committed at Perth and Coupar. The regent, who marched against them with her army, finding their power so much increased, was glad to conclude a truce for a few days, and to pass over with her forces to the Lothians. The reformers besieged and took Perth; proceeded thence to Stirling, where they exercised their usual fury; and finding nothing able to resist them, they bent their march to Edinburgh, the

⁴⁸ Keith, p. 89. Knox, p. 138.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1559.

inhabitants of which, as they had already anticipated the zeal of the congregation against the churches and monasteries, gladly opened their gates to them. The regent, with the few forces which remained with her, took shelter in Dunbar, where she fortified herself, in expectation of a reinforcement from France.

MEANWHILE, she employed her partisans in representing to the people the dangerous consequences of this open rebellion; and she endeavoured to convince them, that the lord James, under pretence of religion, had formed the scheme of wresting the sceptre from the hands of the sovereign. By these considerations many were engaged to desert the army of the congregation; but much more by the want of pay or any means of subsistence; and the regent, observing the malecontents to be much weakened, ventured to march to Edinburgh, with a design of suppressing them. On the interposition of the duke of Chatellerault, who still adhered to her, she agreed to a capitulation, in which she granted them a toleration of their religion, and they engaged to commit no farther depredations on the churches. Soon after they evacuated the city; and before they left it, they proclaimed the articles of agreement; but they took care to publish only the articles favorable to themselves, and they were guilty of an imposture, in adding one to the number, namely, that idolatry should

not

not again be erected in any place where it was at that time suppressed ⁵⁰.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.

1559.

AN agreement, concluded while men were in this disposition, could not be durable; and both sides endeavoured to strengthen themselves as much as possible, against the ensuing rupture, which appeared inevitable. The regent, having got a reinforcement of 1000 men from France, began to fortify Leith; and the congregation seduced to their party the duke of Chatellerault, who had long appeared inclined to join them, and who was at last determined by the arrival of his son, the earl of Arran, from France, where he had escaped many dangers, from the jealousy, as well as bigotry, of Henry and the duke of Guise. More French troops soon after disembarked under the command of La Brosse, who was followed by the bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne. These last were supplied with store of syllogisms, authorities, citations, and scholastic arguments, which they intended to oppose to the Scottish preachers, and which, they justly presumed, would acquire force, and produce conviction, by the influence of the French arms and artillery ⁵¹.

THE constable Montmorency had always opposed the marriage of the Dauphin with the queen of Scots, and had foretold, that, by forming such close connexions with Scotland, the

⁵⁰ See note [H] at the end of the volume.

⁵¹ Spotfwood, p. 134. Thuan. lib. xxiv. c. 10.

C H A P. ancient league would be dissolved; and the natives
 XXXVIII. of that kingdom, jealous of a foreign yoke, would
 1559 soon become, instead of allies, attached by interest
 and inclination, the most inveterate enemies to
 the French government. But though the event
 seemed now to have justified the prudence of
 that aged minister, it is not improbable, con-
 sidering the violent counsels, by which France
 was governed, that the insurrection was deemed a
 favorable event; as affording a pretence, for sending
 over armies, for entirely subduing the country, for
 attainting the rebels⁵², and for preparing means
 thence to invade England, and support Mary's
 title to the crown of that kingdom. The leaders
 of the congregation, well acquainted with these
 views, were not insensible of their danger, and
 saw that their only safety consisted in the vigor
 and success of their measures. They were encour-
 aged by the intelligence received of the sudden
 death of Henry II.; and having passed an act from
 their own authority, depriving the queen-dowager
 of the regency, and ordering all the French troops
 to evacuate the kingdom, they collected forces to
 put their edict in execution against them. They
 again became masters of Edinburgh; but found
 themselves unable to keep long possession of that
 city. Their tumultuary armies, assembled in haste,
 and supported by no pay, soon separated upon
 the least disaster, or even any delay of success;
 and were incapable of resisting such veteran

⁵² Forbes, vol. i. p. 139. Thuan. lib. xxiv. c. 13.

troops as the French, who were also seconded by some of the Scottish nobility, among whom the earl of Bothwel distinguished himself. Hearing that the marquis of Elbeuf, brother to the regent, was levying an army against them in Germany, they thought themselves excusable for applying, in this extremity, to the assistance of England; and as the sympathy of religion, as well as regard to national liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animosity against that kingdom, this measure was the result of inclination, no less than of interest⁵³. Maitland of Lethington, therefore, and Robert Melvil, were secretly dispatched by the congregation to solicit succours from Elizabeth.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1559.

THE wise council of Elizabeth did not long deliberate in agreeing to this request, which concurred so well with the views and interest of their mistress. Cecil in particular represented to the queen, that the union of the crowns of Scotland and France, both of them the hereditary enemies of England, was ever regarded as a pernicious event; and her father, as well as protector Somerset, had employed every expedient, both of war and negociation, to prevent it: That the claim, which Mary advanced to the crown, rendered the present situation of England still more dangerous, and demanded, on the part of the queen, the greatest vigilance and precaution: That the capacity, ambition, and exorbitant views of the

Interposi-
tion of the
queen in
Scotch af-
fairs.

⁵³ See note [I] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. family of Guise, who now governed the French
 XXXVIII. counsels, were sufficiently known; and they
 1559. themselves made no secret of their design to place
 their niece on the throne of England: That
 deeming themselves secure of success, they had
 already, somewhat imprudently and prematurely,
 taken off the mask; and Throgmorton, the Eng-
 lish ambassador at Paris, sent over, by every
 courier, incontestible proofs of their hostile in-
 tentions⁵⁴: That they only waited till Scotland
 should be entirely subdued; and having thus depriv-
 ed the English of the advantages, resulting from
 their situation and naval power, they prepared
 means for subverting the queen's authority: That
 the zealous catholics in England, discontented with
 the present government, and satisfied in the legality
 of Mary's title, would bring them considerable
 reinforcement, and would disturb every measure
 of defence against that formidable power: That
 the only expedient for preventing these designs
 was to seize the present opportunity, and take
 advantage of a like zeal in the protestants of
 Scotland; nor could any doubt be entertained
 with regard to the justice of a measure, founded
 on such evident necessity, and directed only to
 the ends of self-preservation: That though a French
 war, attended with great expence, seemed the
 necessary consequence of supporting the male-
 contents in Scotland, that power, if removed to

⁵⁴ Forbes, vol. i. p. 134. 136. 149. 150. 159. 165.
 181. 194. 229. 231. 235—241. 253.

the continent, would be much less formidable; and a small disbursement at present would in the end be found the greatest frugality: And that the domestic dissensions of France, which every day augmented, together with the alliance of Philip, who, notwithstanding his bigotry and hypocrisy, would never permit the entire conquest of England, were sufficient to secure the queen against the dangerous ambition and resentment of the house of Guise⁵⁵.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1552.

ELIZABETH'S propensity to caution and œconomy was, though with some difficulty⁵⁶, overcome by these powerful motives; and she prepared herself to support by arms and money the declining affairs of the congregation in Scotland. She equipped a fleet, which consisted of thirteen ships of war; and giving the command of it to Winter, she sent it to the Frith of Forth: She appointed the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties, and she assembled at Berwic an army of eight thousand men under the command of lord Gray, warden of the east and middle marches. Though the court of France, sensible of the danger, offered her to make immediate restitution of Calais, provided she would not interpose in the affairs of Scotland; she resolutely replied, that she never would put an inconsiderable fishingtown in competition with the safety of her dominions⁵⁷; and she still con-

⁵⁵ Forbes, vol. i. p. 387. Jebb, vol. i. p. 448. Keith, append. 24.

⁵⁶ Forbes, vol. i. p. 454. 460.

⁵⁷ Spotswood, p. 146.

C H A P. XXXVIII. 1559. tinued her preparations. She concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the congregation, which was to last during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis and a year after; and she promised never to desist till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland⁵⁸. And having thus taken all proper measures for success, and received from the Scots six hostages for the performance of articles, she ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations.

1560. 15th Jan. THE appearance of Elizabeth's fleet in the Frith disconcerted the French army, who were at that time ravaging the county of Fife; and obliged them to make a circuit by Stirling, in order to reach Leith, where they prepared themselves for defence. The English army, reinforced by 5000 Scots⁵⁹, sat down before the place; and after two skirmishes, in the former of which, the English had the advantage, in the latter the French, they began to batter the town; and though repulsed with considerable loss in a rash and ill-conducted assault, they reduced the garrison to great difficulties. Their distress was augmented by two events; the dispersion by a storm of d'Elbeuf's fleet, which carried a considerable army on board⁶⁰, and the death of the queen-regent, who expired about this time in the castle of Edinburgh; a woman endowed with all the capacity which shone forth in her family, but

⁵⁸ Knox, p. 117. Haynes's State Papers, vol. i. p. 153. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 569. ⁵⁹ Haynes, vol. i. p. 256. 259. ⁶⁰ Ibid. vol. i. p. 223.

possessed of much more virtue and moderation than appeared in the conduct of the other branches of it. The French, who found it impossible to subsist for want of provisions, and who saw, that the English were continually reinforced by fresh numbers, were obliged to capitulate: And the bishop of Valence and count Randan, plenipotentiaries from France, signed a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had sent thither for that purpose. It was there stipulated, that the French should instantly evacuate Scotland; that the king and queen of France and Scotland should thenceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of that kingdom; that farther satisfaction for the injury already done in that particular should be granted Elizabeth; and that commissioners should meet to settle this point, or if they could not agree, that the king of Spain should be umpire between the crowns. Besides these stipulations, which regarded England, some concessions were granted to the Scots; namely, that an amnesty should be published for all past offences; that none but natives should enjoy any office in Scotland; that the states should name twenty-four persons, of whom the queen of Scots should chuse seven, and the states five, and in the hands of these twelve should the whole administration be placed during their queen's absence; and that Mary should neither make peace nor

C H A P.

XXXVIII.

1560

5th July.

Settlement
of Scotland.

C H A P. war without consent of the states ⁶¹. In order to
 XXV VIII. hasten the execution of this important treaty,
 1560. Elizabeth sent ships, by which the French forces
 were transported into their own country.

THUS Europe saw, in the first transaction of
 this reign, the genius and capacity of the queen
 and her ministers. She discerned at a distance
 the danger, which threatened her; and instantly
 took vigorous measures to prevent it. Making all
 possible advantages of her situation, she proceeded
 with celerity to a decision; and was not diverted
 by any offers, negociations, or remonstrances of
 the French court. She stopped not till she had
 brought the matter to a final issue; and had con-
 verted that very power, to which her enemies
 trusted for her destruction, into her firmest sup-
 port and security. By exacting no improper con-
 ditions, from the Scottish malecontents, even during
 their greatest distresses, she established an entire
 confidence with them; and having cemented the
 union by all the ties of gratitude, interest, and
 religion, she now possessed an influence over them
 beyond what remained even with their native
 sovereign. The regard, which she acquired by
 this dextrous and spirited conduct, gave her
 every where, abroad as well as at home, more
 authority than had attended her sister, though
 supported by all the power of the Spanish mo-
 narchy ⁶².

⁶¹ Rymer, vol. xv. p. 593. Keith, p. 137. Spotswood,
 p. 47. Knox, p. 229.

⁶² Forbes, vol. i. p. 354. 372. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 452.

THE subsequent measures of the Scottish reformers tended still more to cement their union with England. Being now entirely masters of the kingdom, they made no farther ceremony or scruple, in fully effecting their purpose. In the treaty of Edinburgh it had been agreed, that a parliament or convention should soon be assembled; and the leaders of the congregation, not waiting till the queen of Scots should ratify that treaty, thought themselves fully entitled, without the sovereign's authority, immediately to summon a parliament. The reformers presented a petition to this assembly; in which they were not contented with desiring the establishment of their doctrine; they also applied for the punishment of the catholics, whom they called vassals to the Roman harlot; and they asserted, that, among all the rabble of the clergy, such is their expression, there was not one lawful minister; but that they were, all of them, thieves and murderers; yea, rebels and traitors to civil authority; and therefore unworthy to be suffered in any reformed commonwealth⁶³. The parliament seem to have been actuated by the same spirit of rage and persecution. After ratifying a confession of faith, agreeable to the new doctrines, they passed a statute against the mass, and not only abolished it in all the churches, but enacted, that whoever, any where, either officiated in it or was present at it, should be chastised, for the first offence,

⁶³ Knox, p. 237, 238.

C H A P. with confiscation of goods and corporal punish-
XXXVIII. ment, at the discretion of the magistrate; for

1560.

the second, with banishment; and for the third, with loss of life⁶⁴. A law was also voted for abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Scotland: The presbyterian form of discipline was settled, leaving only at first some shadow of authority to certain ecclesiastics, whom they called Superintendants. The prelates of the ancient faith appeared, in order to complain of great injustice committed on them by the invasion of their property, but the parliament took no notice of them; till at last, these ecclesiastics, tired with fruitless attendance, departed the town. They were then cited to appear; and as nobody presented himself, it was voted by the parliament, that the ecclesiastics were entirely satisfied, and found no reason of complaint.

SIR James Sandilands, prior of St John, was sent over to France to obtain the ratification of these acts; but was very ill received by Mary, who denied the validity of a parliament, summoned without the royal consent; and she refused her sanction to those statutes. But the protestants gave themselves little concern about their queen's refusal. They immediately put the statutes in execution: They abolished the mass; they settled their ministers; they committed every where furious devastations on the monasteries, and even on the churches, which they thought profaned by idolatry; and deeming the property of the clergy lawful prize, they took possession, without cere-

⁶⁴ Knox, p. 254.

mony, of the far greater part of the ecclesiastical revenues. Their new preachers, who had authority sufficient to incite them to war and insurrection, could not restrain their rapacity; and fanaticism concurring with avarice, an incurable wound was given to the papal authority in that country. The protestant nobility and gentry, united by the consciousness of such unpardonable guilt, alarmed for their new possessions, well acquainted with the imperious character of the house of Guise, saw no safety for themselves but in the protection of England; and they dispatched Morton, Glencairne, and Lethington to express their sincere gratitude to the queen for her past favors, and represent to her the necessity of continuing them.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1560.

ELIZABETH, on her part, had equal reason to maintain a union with the Scottish protestants; and soon found that the house of Guise, notwithstanding their former disappointments, had not laid aside the design of contesting her title, and subverting her authority. Francis and Mary, whose counsels were wholly directed by them, refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; and showed no disposition to give her any satisfaction for that mortal affront, which they had put upon her, by their openly assuming the title and arms of England. She was sensible of the danger attending such pretensions; and it was with pleasure she heard of the violent factions, which prevailed in the French government, and of the opposition, which had arisen against the measures of the duke

French af-
fairs.

C H A P. of Guise. That ambitious prince, supported by
 XXXVIII. his four brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine, the
 1560. duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the
 grand prior, men no less ambitious than himself,
 had engrossed all the authority of the crown;
 and as he was possessed of every quality, which
 could command the esteem or seduce the affections
 of men, there appeared no end of his acquisitions
 and pretensions. The constable, Montmorency,
 who had long balanced his credit, was deprived
 of all power: The princes of the blood, the king
 of Navarre, and his brother, the prince of Condé,
 were entirely excluded from offices and favor:
 The queen-mother herself, Catherine de Medicis,
 found her influence every day declining: And as
 Francis, a young prince, infirm both in mind
 and body, was wholly governed by his consort,
 who knew no law but the pleasure of her uncles,
 men despaired of ever obtaining freedom from
 the dominion of that aspiring family. It was the
 contests of religion, which first inspired the French
 with courage openly to oppose their unlimited
 authority.

THE theological disputes, first started in the
 north of Germany, next in Switzerland, countries
 at that time wholly illiterate, had long ago pene-
 trated into France; and as they were assisted by
 the general discontent against the court and church
 of Rome, and by the zealous spirit of the age,
 the profelytes to the new religion were secretly
 increasing in every province. Henry II. in imi-
 tation of his father Francis, had opposed the pro-

gress of the reformers ; and though a prince addicted to pleasure and society, he was transported by a vehemence, as well as bigotry, which had little place in the conduct of his predecessor. Rigorous punishments had been inflicted on the most eminent of the protestant party ; and a point of honor seemed to have arisen, whether the one sect could exercise, or the other suffer most barbarity. The death of Henry put some stop to the persecutions ; and the people, who had admired the constancy of the new preachers, now heard with favor their doctrines and arguments. But the cardinal of Lorraine, as well as his brothers, who were possessed of the legal authority, thought it their interest to support the established religion ; and when they revived the execution of the penal statutes, they necessarily drove the malecontent princes and nobles to embrace the protection of the new religion. The king of Navarre, a man of mild dispositions, but of a weak character, and the prince of Condé, who possessed many great qualities, having declared themselves in favor of the protestants, that sect acquired new force from their countenance ; and the admiral Coligni, with his brother Andelot, no longer scrupled to make open profession of their communion. The integrity of the admiral, who was believed sincere in his attachment to the new doctrine, and his great reputation both for valor and conduct, for the arts of peace as well as of war, brought credit to the reformers ; and after a frustrated attempt of the malecontents to seize

C H A P. the king's person at Amboise, of which Elizabeth
 XXXVIII. had probably some intelligence⁶⁵, every place was full of distraction, and matters hastened to an open rupture between the parties. But the house of Guise, though these factions had obliged them to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cause of Elizabeth's success, were determined not to relinquish their authority in France, or yield to the violence of their enemies. They found an opportunity of seizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; they threw the former into prison; they obtained a sentence of death against the latter; and they were proceeding to put the sentence in execution, when the king's sudden death saved the noble prisoner, and interrupted the prosperity of the duke of Guise. The queen-mother was appointed regent to her son Charles IX. now in his minority: The king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom: The sentence against Condé was annulled: The constable was recalled to court: And the family of Guise, though they still enjoyed great offices and great power, found a counterpoise to their authority.

4th Dec.
1561.

ELIZABETH was determined to make advantage of these events against the queen of Scots, whom she still regarded as a dangerous rival. She saw herself freed from the perils attending a union of

⁶⁵ Forbes, vol. i. p. 214. Throgmorton, about this time, unwilling to intrust to letters the great secrets committed to him, obtained leave, under some pretext, to come over to London.

Scotland with France, and from the pretensions of so powerful a prince as Francis, but she considered, at the same time, that the English catholics, who were numerous, and who were generally prejudiced in favor of Mary's title, would now adhere to that princess with more zealous attachment, when they saw, that her succession no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom, and was rather attended with the advantage of effecting an entire union with Scotland. She gave orders, therefore, to her ambassador, Throgmorton, a vigilant and able minister, to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. But though Mary had desisted, after her husband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, she still declined gratifying Elizabeth in this momentous article; and being swayed by the ambitious suggestions of her uncles, she refused to make any formal renunciation of her pretensions.

MEANWHILE, the queen-mother of France, who imputed to Mary all the mortifications, which she had met with during Francis's life-time, took care to retaliate on her by like injuries; and the queen of Scots, finding her abode in France disagreeable, began to think of returning to her native country. Lord James, who had been sent in deputation from the states to invite her over, seconded these intentions; and she applied to Elizabeth, by D'Oisel, for a safe conduct, in case she should be obliged to pass through England⁶⁶: But

⁶⁶ Goodall, vol. i. p. 175.

C H A P. she received for answer, that, till she had given
 XXXVIII. satisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh,
 1561. she could expect no favor from a person, whom
 she had so much injured. This denial excited her
 indignation; and she made no scruple of expressing
 her sentiments to Throgmorton, when he reiter-
 ated his applications to gratify his mistress in a
 demand, which he represented as so reasonable.
 Having cleared the room of her attendants, she
 said to him, "How weak I may prove, or how
 " far a woman's frailty may transport me, I can-
 " not tell: However, I am resolved not to have
 " so many witnesses of my infirmity as your
 " mistress had at her audience of my ambassador
 " D'Oisel. There is nothing disturbs me so much,
 " as the having asked, with so much importunity,
 " a favor which it was of no consequence for me
 " to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to
 " my own country without *her* leave; as I came
 " to France, in spite of all the opposition of her
 " brother, king Edward: Neither do I want friends
 " both able and willing to conduct me home,
 " as they have brought me hither; though I was
 " desirous rather to make an experiment of your
 " mistress's friendship than of the assistance of any
 " other person. I have often heard you say, that
 " a good correspondence between her and myself
 " would conduce much to the security and hap-
 " piness of both our kingdoms: Were she well
 " convinced of this truth, she would hardly have
 " denied me so small a request. But, perhaps,
 " she bears a better inclination to my rebellious
 " subjects

“ subjects than to me, their sovereign, her equal
 “ in royal dignity, her near relation, and the
 “ undoubted heir of her kingdoms. Besides her
 “ friendship, I ask nothing at her hands : I neither
 “ trouble her, nor concern myself in the affairs
 “ of her state: Not that I am ignorant, that there
 “ are now in England a great many malecontents,
 “ who are no friends to the present establishment.
 “ She is pleased to upbraid me as a person little
 “ experienced in the world : I freely own it ; but
 “ age will cure that defect. However, I am already
 “ old enough to acquit myself honestly and cour-
 “ teously to my friends and relations, and to
 “ encourage no reports of your mistress, which
 “ would misbecome a queen and her kinswoman.
 “ I would also say, by her leave, that I am a queen
 “ as well as she, and not altogether friendless:
 “ And, perhaps, I have as great a soul too; so
 “ that methinks we should be upon a level in our
 “ treatment of each other. As soon as I have
 “ consulted the states of my kingdom, I shall be
 “ ready to give her a reasonable answer; and
 “ I am the more intent on my journey, in order
 “ to make the quicker dispatch in this affair. But
 “ she, it seems, intends to stop my journey; so that
 “ either she will not let me give her satisfaction,
 “ or is resolved not to be satisfied; perhaps, on
 “ purpose to keep up the disagreement between
 “ us. She has often reproached me with my being
 “ young; and I must be very young, indeed, and
 “ as ill advised, to treat of matters of such great
 “ concern and importance, without the advice of

C H A P.

XXXVIII

1561.

C H A P.

XXXVIII.

1561.

“ my parliament. I have not been wanting in all
 “ friendly offices to her; but she disbelieves or
 “ overlooks them. I could heartily wish, that I
 “ were as nearly allied to her in affection as in
 “ blood: For that, indeed, would be a most
 “ valuable alliance “.”

19th Aug.
 Arrival of
 Mary in
 Scotland.

SUCH a spirited reply, notwithstanding the obliging terms interspersed in it, was but ill fitted to conciliate friendship between these rival princesses, or cure those mutual jealousies which had already taken place. Elizabeth equipped a fleet, on pretence of pursuing pirates, but probably with an intention of intercepting the queen of Scots in her return homewards. Mary embarked at Calais; and passing the English fleet in a fog, arrived safely at Leith, attended by her three uncles, the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis of Elbeuf, together with the marquis of Damville, and other French courtiers. This change of abode and situation was very little agreeable to that princess. Besides her natural prepossessions in favor of a country in which she had been educated from her earliest infancy, and where she had borne so high a rank, she could not forbear both regretting the society of that people, so celebrated for their humane disposition, and their respectful attachment to their sovereign, and reflecting on the disparity of the scene which lay before her. It is said, that, after she was embarked at Calais, she kept her eyes fixed on the

⁶⁶ Caballa, p. 374. Spotfwood, p. 177.

coast of France, and never turned them from that beloved object, till darkness fell, and intercepted it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be spread for her in the open air; and charged the pilot, that, if in the morning the land were still in sight, he should awake her, and afford her one parting view of that country, in which all her affections were centered. The weather proved calm, so that the ship made little way in the night-time: And Mary had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat up on her couch, and still looking towards the land, often repeated these words: "Farewel, France, "farewel; I shall never see thee more". The first aspect, however, of things in Scotland was more favorable, if not to her pleasure and happiness, at least to her repose and security, than she had reason to apprehend. No sooner did the French gallies appear off Leith, than people of all ranks; who had long expected their arrival, flocked towards the shore, with an earnest impatience to behold and receive their young sovereign. Some were led by duty, some by interest, some by curiosity; and all combined to express their attachment to her, and to insinuate themselves into her confidence, on the commencement of her administration. She had now reached her nineteenth year; and the bloom of her youth and amiable beauty of her person were farther recommended by the affability of her address, the politeness of

⁶⁷ Keith, p. 179. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 483.

C H A P. her manners, and the elegance of her genius. Well
 XXXVIII accomplished in all the superficial, but engaging
 1561. graces of a court, she afforded, when better known, still more promising indications of her character; and men prognosticated both humanity from her soft and obliging deportment, and penetration from her taste in all the refined arts of music, eloquence, and poetry⁶³. And as the Scots had long been deprived of the presence of their sovereign, whom they once despaired ever more to behold among them, her arrival seemed to give universal satisfaction; and nothing appeared about the court, but symptoms of affection, joy, and festivity.

THE first measures, which Mary embraced, confirmed all the prepossessions entertained in her favor. She followed the advice given her in France by D'Oisel and the bishop of Amiens, as well as her uncles; and she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had greatest influence over the people, and who, she found, were alone able to support her government. Her brother, lord James, whom she soon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and after him Lethington, secretary of state, a man of great sagacity, had a principal share in her confidence. By the vigor of these men's measures she endeavoured to establish order and justice in a country, divided by public

⁶³ Buchan. lib. xvii. c. 9. Spotswood, p. 178, 179. Keith, p. 180. Thuan. lib. xxix. c. 2.

factions and private feuds; and that fierce, in- C H A P.
tractable people, unacquainted with laws and XXXVIII.
obedience, seemed, for a time, to submit peaceably 1561.
to her gentle and prudent administration.

BUT there was one circumstance, which blasted all these promising appearances, and bereaved Mary of that general favor, which her agreeable manners and judicious deportment gave her just reason to expect. She was still a papist; and though she published, soon after her arrival, a proclamation, enjoining every one to submit to the established religion, the preachers and their adherents could neither be reconciled to a person polluted with so great an abomination, nor lay aside their jealousies of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty she could obtain permission for saying mass in her own chapel; and had not the people apprehended, that, if she had here met with a refusal, she would instantly have returned to France, the zealots never would have granted her even that small indulgence. The cry was, "Shall we suffer that idol to be again erected within the realm?" It was asserted in the pulpit, that one mass was more terrible than ten thousand armed men landed to invade the kingdom: Lord Lindsay, and the gentlemen of Fife, exclaimed, "That the idolater should die the death;" such was their expression. One that carried tapers for the ceremony of that worship, was attacked and insulted in the court

"Knox, p. 287.

C H A P. of the palace. And if lord James, and some popular
 XXXVIII. leaders, had not interposed, the most dangerous
 1561. uproar was justly apprehended, from the ungo-
 verned fury of the multitude ⁷⁰. The usual prayers
 in the churches were to this purpose: That God
 would turn the queen's heart, which was obstinate
 against him and his truth; or if his holy will be
 otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts
 and *hands* of the elect, stoutly to oppose the rage
 of all tyrants ⁷¹. Nay, it was openly called in
 question, whether that princess, being an ido-
 latress, was entitled to any authority, even in
 civil matters ⁷²?

THE helpless queen was every moment exposed
 to contumely, which she bore with benignity and
 patience. Soon after her arrival she dined in the
 castle of Edinburgh; and it was there contrived,
 that a boy, six years of age, should be let down
 from the roof, and should present her with a bible,
 a psalter, and the keys of the castle. Lest she
 should be at a loss to understand this insult on
 her as a papist; all the decorations expressed the
 burning of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and
 other punishments inflicted by God upon ido-
 latry ⁷³. The town council of Edinburgh had the
 assurance, from their own authority, to issue a
 proclamation banishing from their own district,
 "all the wicked rabble of antichrist, the pope,
 "such as priests, monks, friars, together with

⁷⁰ Knox p. 284, 285. 287. Spotswood, p. 179.

⁷¹ Keith, p. 179. ⁷² Ibid. p. 202. ⁷³ Ibid. p. 189.

adulterers and fornicators ⁷⁴. " And because the privy-council suspended the magistrates for their insolence, the passionate historians ⁷⁵ of that age have inferred, that the queen was engaged, by a sympathy of manners, to take adulterers and fornicators under her protection. It appears probable, that the magistrates were afterwards reinstated in their office, and that their proclamation was confirmed ⁷⁶.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1561.

BUT all the insolence of the people was inconsiderable in comparison of that which was exercised by the clergy and the preachers, who took a pride in vilifying, even to her face, this amiable princess. The assembly of the church framed an address, in which, after telling her, that her mass was a bastard service of God, the fountain of all impiety, and the source of every evil which abounded in the realm; they expressed their hopes, that she would, ere this time, have preferred truth to her own preconceived opinion, and have renounced her religion, which, they assured her, was nothing but abomination and vanity. They said, that the present abuses of government were so enormous, that, if a speedy remedy were not provided, God would not fail in his anger to strike the head and the tail, the disobedient prince and sinful people. They required, that severe punishment should be inflicted on adulterers and fornicators. And they concluded

⁷⁴ Keith p. 192. ⁷⁵ Knox, p. 292. Buchan. lib. xvii. c. 20. Haynes, vol. i. p. 372. ⁷⁶ Keith, p. 202.

C H A P. with demanding for themselves some addition both
 XXXVIII. of power and property ⁷⁷.

1561.

THE ringleader in all these insults on majesty was John Knox; who possessed an uncontrouled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious usage of his sovereign. His usual appellation for the queen was Jezabel; and though she endeavoured, by the most gracious condescension, to win his favor, all her insinuations could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. She promised him access to her whenever he demanded it; and she even desired him, if he found her blameable in any thing, to reprehend her freely in private, rather than vilify her in the pulpit before the whole people: But he plainly told her, that he had a public ministry intrusted to him; that if she would come to church, she should there hear the gospel of truth; and that it was not his business to apply to every individual, nor had he leisure for that occupation ⁷⁸. The political principles of the man, which he communicated to his brethren, were as full of sedition as his theological were of rage and bigotry. Though he once condescended so far as to tell the queen, that he would submit to her, in the same manner as Paul did to Nero ⁷⁹; he remained not long in this dutiful strain. He said to her, that "Samuel
 " feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate

⁷⁷ Knox, p. 311, 312.

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 310.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 288.

“ king of Amalek , whom king Saul had saved: c H A P.
 “ Neither spared Elias Jezabel’s false prophets, XXXVIII.
 “ and Baal’s priests, though King Ahab was pre- 1561.
 “ sent. Phineas,” added he, “ was no magistrate;
 “ yet feared he not to strike Cosbie and Zimri
 “ in the very act of filthy fornication. And so,
 “ Madam, your grace may see, that others than
 “ chief magistrates may lawfully inflict punish-
 “ ment on such crimes as are condemned by the
 “ law of God *.” Knox had formerly, during
 the reign of Mary of England, written a book
 against female succession to the crown : The title
 of it is, *The first blast of the trumpet against the
 monstrous regimen of women*. He was too proud
 either to recant the tenets of this book, or even
 to apologize for them ; and his conduct showed,
 that he thought no more civility than loyalty due
 to any of the female sex.

THE whole life of Mary was, from the demeanour
 of these men, filled with bitterness and sorrow.
 This rustic apostle scruples not, in his history, to
 inform us, that he once treated her with such
 severity, that she lost all command of temper,
 and dissolved in tears before him : Yet so far
 from being moved with youth, and beauty,
 and royal dignity reduced to that condition, he
 persevered in his insolent reproofs ; and when he
 relates this incident, he discovers a visible pride
 and satisfaction in his own conduct *. The pulpits
 had become mere scenes of railing against the

* Knox p. 326.

* Ibid. p. 332, 333.

C H A P. Vices of the court; among which were always
 XXXVIII. noted as the principal, feasting, finery, dancing,
 1561. balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendant⁸².
 Some ornaments, which the ladies at that time
 wore upon their petticoats, excited mightily the
 indignation of the preachers; and they affirmed,
 that such vanity would provoke God's vengeance,
 not only against these foolish women, but against
 the whole realm⁸³.

MARY, whose age, condition, and education
 invited her to liberty and cheerfulness, was curbed
 in all amusements, by the absurd severity of these
 reformers; and she found every moment reason
 to regret her leaving that country, from whose
 manners she had in her early youth received the
 first impressions⁸⁴. Her two uncles, the duke of
 Aumale, and the grand prior, with the other
 French nobility, soon took leave of her: The
 marquis of Elbeuf remained some time longer;
 but after his departure, she was left to the society
 of her own subjects; men unacquainted with the
 pleasures of conversation, ignorant of arts and civil-
 ity, and corrupted, beyond their usual rusticity, by
 a dismal fanaticism, which rendered them incapable
 of all humanity or improvement. Though Mary
 had made no attempt to restore the ancient reli-
 gion, her popery was a sufficient crime: Though
 her behaviour was hitherto irreproachable, and
 her manners sweet and engaging, her gaiety and
 ease were interpreted as signs of dissolute vanity.

⁸² Knox 322.⁸³ Ibid. 330.⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 294.

And to the harsh and preposterous usage, which this princess met with, may, in part, be ascribed those errors of her subsequent conduct, which seemed so little of a piece with the general tenor of her character.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1561.

THERE happened to the marquis of Elbeuf, before his departure, an adventure, which, though frivolous, might enable him to give Mary's friends in France a melancholy idea of her situation. This nobleman, with the earl of Bothwel, and some other young courtiers, had been engaged, after a debauch, to pay a visit to a woman called Alifon Craig, who was known to be liberal of her favors; and because they were denied admittance, they broke the windows, thrust open the door, and committed some disorders, in searching for the damsel. It happened, that the assembly of the church was sitting at that time, and they immediately took the matter under their cognizance. In conjunction with several of the nobility, they presented an address to the queen, which was introduced with this awful prelude. "To
" the queen's majesty, and to her secret and great
" council, her grace's faithful and obedient sub-
" jects, the professors of Christ Jesus's holy evangel,
" with the spirit of righteous judgment." The tenor of the petition was, that the fear of God, the duty which they owed her grace, and the terrible threatenings, denounced by God against every city or country where horrible crimes were openly committed, compelled them to demand the severe punishment of such as had done what

C H A P. in them lay to kindle the wrath of God against
XXXVIII. the whole realm : That the iniquity , of which
 1561. they complained , was so heinous and so horrible,
 that they should esteem themselves accomplices
 in it , if they had been engaged by worldly fear ,
 or servile complaisance , to pass it over in silence ,
 or bury it in oblivion : That as they owed her
 grace obedience in the administration of justice ,
 so were they entitled to require of her , in return ,
 the sharp and condign punishment of this enormity , which , they repeated it , might draw down
 the vengeance of God on the whole kingdom :
 And that they maintained it to be her duty to
 lay aside all private affections towards the actors
 of so heinous a crime , and so enormous a villany ,
 and without delay bring them to a trial , and
 inflict the severest penalties upon them. The
 queen gave a gracious reception to this peremp-
 tory address ; but because she probably thought ,
 that breaking the windows of a brothel merited
 not such severe reprehension , she only replied ,
 that her uncle was a stranger , and that he was
 attended by a young company : But she would
 put such order to him and to all others , that her
 subjects should henceforth have no reason to
 complain. Her passing over this incident so
 slightly was the source of great discontent , and
 was regarded as a proof of the most profligate
 manners ⁸⁵. It is not to be omitted , that Alison
 Craig , the cause of all the uproar , was known

⁸⁵ Knox , p. 302, 303, 304. Keith , p. 509.

to entertain a commerce with the earl of Arran, who, on account of his great zeal for the reformation, was, without scruple, indulged in that enormity⁸⁶.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1561.

SOME of the populace of Edinburgh broke into the queen's chapel during her absence, and committed outrages; for which two of them were indicted, and it was intended to bring them to a trial. Knox wrote circular letters to the most considerable zealots of the party, and charged them to appear in town, and protect their brethren. The holy sacraments, he there said, are abused by profane papists; the mass has been said; and in worshipping that idol, the priests have omitted no ceremony, not even the conjuring of their accursed water, that had ever been practised in the time of the greatest blindness. These violent measures for opposing justice were little short of rebellion; and Knox was summoned before the council to answer for his offence. The courage of the man was equal to his insolence. He scrupled not to tell the queen, that the pestilent papists, who had inflamed her against these holy men, were the sons of the devil; and must therefore obey the directions of their father, who had been a liar and a manflayer from the beginning. The matter ended with the full acquittal of Knox⁸⁷. Randolph, the English ambassador in Scotland, had reason to write to Cecil, speaking of the Scottish nation: "I think marvellously of the

⁸⁶ Knox. Keith, p. 509 ⁸⁷ Knox, p. 336, 342.

C H A P. " wisdom of God , that gave this unruly , in-
 XXXVIII. " constant , and cumbersome people no more
 1561. " power nor substance : For they would otherwise
 " run wild ^{ss} ."

WE have related these incidents at greater length , than the necessity of our subject may seem to require : But even trivial circumstances , which show the manners of the age , are often more instructive , as well as entertaining , than the great transactions of wars and negociations , which are nearly similar in all periods and in all countries of the world.

THE reformed clergy in Scotland had , at that time , a very natural reason for their ill-humor , namely , the poverty or rather beggary , to which they were reduced. The nobility and gentry had at first laid their hands on all the property of the regular clergy , without making any provision for the friars and nuns , whom they turned out of their possession. The secular clergy of the catholic communion , though they lost all ecclesiastical jurisdiction , still held some of the temporalities of their benefices ; and either became laymen themselves , and converted them into private property , or made conveyance of them at low prices to the nobility , who thus enriched themselves by the plunder of the church. The new teachers had hitherto subsisted chiefly by the voluntary oblations of the faithful ; and in a poor country , divided in religious sentiments ,

^{ss} Keith , p. 202.

this establishment was regarded as very scanty and very precarious. Repeated applications were made for a legal settlement to the preachers; and though almost every thing in the kingdom was governed by their zeal and caprice, it was with difficulty that their request was at last complied with. The fanatical spirit which they indulged, and their industry in decrying the principles and practices of the Romish communion, which placed such merit in enriching the clergy, proved now a very sensible obstacle to their acquisitions. The convention, however, passed a vote²⁹, by which they divided all the ecclesiastical benefices into twenty-one shares: They assigned fourteen to the ancient possessors; Of the remaining seven they granted three to the crown; and if that were found to answer the public expences, they bestowed the overplus on the reformed ministers. The queen was empowered to levy all the seven; and it was ordained, that she should afterwards pay to the clergy what should be judged to suffice for their maintenance. The necessities of the crown, the rapacity of the courtiers, and the small affection which Mary bore to the protestant ecclesiastics, rendered their revenues contemptible as well as uncertain; and the preachers, finding that they could not rival the gentry, or even the middling rank of men, in opulence and plenty, were necessitated to betake themselves to other expedients for supporting their authority. They

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1561.

²⁹ Knox, p. 296. Keith, p. 210.

C H A P. affected a furious zeal for religion, morose man-
 XXXVIII. ners, a vulgar and familiar, yet mysterious cant;
 1561. and though the liberality of subsequent princes
 put them afterwards on a better footing with re-
 gard to revenue, and thereby corrected in some
 degree those bad habits; it must be confessed,
 that, while many other advantages attend pres-
 byterian government, these inconveniences are not
 easily separated from the genius of that ecclesiastical
 polity.

THE queen of Scots, destitute of all force,
 possessing a narrow revenue, surrounded with a
 factious turbulent nobility, a bigotted people,
 and insolent ecclesiastics, soon found, that her
 only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was to
 preserve a good correspondence with⁹⁹ Elizabeth,
 who, by former connexions and services, had
 acquired such authority over all these ranks of
 men. Soon after her arrival in Scotland, secretary
 Lethington was sent to London, in order to pay
 her compliments to the queen, and express her
 desire of friendship and a good correspondence;
 and he received a commission from her, as well
 as from the nobility of Scotland, to demand, as
 a means of cementing this friendship, that Mary
 should, by act of parliament or by proclamation
 (for the difference between these securities was
 not then deemed very considerable) be declared
 successor to the crown. No request could be more
 unreasonable, or made at a more improper juncture.

⁹⁹ Jebb, vol. ii. p. 456.

The queen replied, that Mary had once discovered her intention not to wait for the succession, but had openly, without ceremony or reserve, assumed the title of queen of England, and had pretended a superior right to her throne and kingdom: That though her ambassadors, and those of her husband, the French king, had signed a treaty, in which they renounced that claim, and promised satisfaction for so great an indignity, she was so intoxicated with this imaginary right, that she had rejected the most earnest solicitations, and even, as some endeavoured to persuade her, had incurred some danger in crossing the seas, rather than ratify that equitable treaty: That her partisans every where had still the assurance to insist on her title, and had presumed to talk of her own birth as illegitimate: That while affairs were on this footing; while a claim thus openly made, so far from being openly renounced, was only suspended till a more favorable opportunity, it would in her be the most egregious imprudence to fortify the hands of a pretender to her crown, by declaring her the successor: That no expedient could be worse imagined for cementing friendship than such a declaration; and kings were often found to bear no good will to their successors, even though their own children; much more when the connexion was less intimate, and when such cause of disgust and jealousy had already been given, and indeed was still continued, on the part of Mary: That though she was willing,

C H A P.

XXXVIII.

1561.

C H A P.

XXXVIII.

1561.

from the amity which she bore her kinswoman, to ascribe her former pretensions to the advice of others, by whose direction she was then governed; her present refusal to relinquish them could proceed only from her own prepossessions, and was a proof that she still harboured some dangerous designs against her: That it was the nature of all men to be disgusted with the present, to entertain flattering views of futurity, to think their services ill rewarded, to expect a better recompence from the successor; and she should esteem herself scarcely half a sovereign over the English, if they saw her declare her heir, and arm her rival with authority against her own repose and safety: That she knew the inconstant nature of the people; she was acquainted with the present divisions in religion; she was not ignorant, that the same party, which expected greater favor during the reign of Mary, did also imagine, that the title of that princess was superior to her own: That for her part, whatever claims were advanced, she was determined to live and die queen of England; and after her death, it was the business of others to examine who had the best pretensions, either by the laws or by right of blood, to the succession: That she hoped the claim of the queen of Scots would then be found solid; and considering the injury, which she herself had received, it was sufficient indulgence, if she promised, in the mean time, to do nothing which might, in any respect, weaken or invalidate it: And that Mary, if her title were

really preferable, a point, which, for her own part, she had never inquired into, possessed all advantages above her rivals; who, destitute both of present power, and of all support by friends, would only expose themselves to inevitable ruin, by advancing any weak, or even doubtful pretensions⁹¹.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.
1561.

THESE views of the queen were so prudent and judicious, that there was no likelihood of her ever departing from them: But that she might put the matter to a fuller proof, she offered to explain the words of the treaty of Edinburgh, so as to leave no suspicion of their excluding Mary's right of succession⁹²; and in this form, she again required her to ratify that treaty. Matters at last came to this issue, that Mary agreed to the proposal, and offered to renounce all present pretensions to the crown of England, provided Elizabeth would agree to declare her the successor⁹³. But such was the jealous character of this latter princess, that she never would consent to strengthen the interest and authority of any claimant, by fixing the succession; much less would she make this concession in favor of a rival queen, who possessed such plausible pretensions for the present, and who, though she might verbally renounce them, could easily resume her claim on the first opportunity. Mary's proposal,

⁹¹ Buchanan, lib. xvii. c. 14—17. Camden, p. 385. Spotswood, p. 180, 181.

⁹² Ibid. p. 181.

⁹³ Haynes, vol. i. p. 377.

C H A P. however, bore so specious an appearance of
 XXXVIII. equity and justice, that Elizabeth, sensible that
 1561. reason would, by superficial thinkers, be deemed
 to lie entirely on that side, made no more mention
 of the matter; and though farther concessions
 were never made by either princess, they put on
 all the appearances of a cordial reconciliation and
 friendship with each other.

Wife go-
 vernment of
 Elizabeth.

THE queen observed, that, even without her
 interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by
 the mutinous spirit of her own subjects; and in-
 stead of giving Scotland, for the present, any
 inquietude or disturbance, she employed herself,
 more usefully and laudably, in regulating the
 affairs of her own kingdom, and promoting the
 happiness of her people. She made some progress
 in paying those great debts which lay upon the
 crown; she regulated the coin, which had been
 much debased by her predecessors; she furnished
 her arsenals with great quantities of arms from
 Germany and other places; engaged her nobility
 and gentry to imitate her example in this par-
 ticular; introduced into the kingdom the art of
 making gun-powder and brass cannon; fortified
 her frontiers on the side of Scotland; made frequent
 reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture by
 allowing a free exportation of corn; promoted
 trade and navigation; and so much increased the
 shipping of her kingdom, both by building ves-
 sels of force herself, and suggesting like under-
 takings to the merchants, that she was justly
 styled the restorer of naval glory, and the queen

of the northern seas²⁴. The natural frugality of her temper, so far from incapacitating her from these great enterprises, only enabled her to execute them with greater certainty and success; and all the world saw in her conduct the happy effects of a vigorous perseverance in judicious and well concerted projects.

It is easy to imagine, that so great a princess, who enjoyed such singular felicity and renown, would receive proposals of marriage from every one, that had any likelihood of succeeding; and though she had made some public declarations in favor of a single life, few believed, that she would persevere for ever in that resolution. The archduke Charles, second son of the emperor²⁵, as well as Casimir, son of the elector Palatine, made applications to her; and as this latter prince professed the reformed religion, he thought himself, on that account, better entitled to succeed in his addresses. Eric, king of Sweden, and Adolph, duke of Holstein, were encouraged by the same views to become suitors: And the earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was, by the states of that kingdom, recommended to her as a suitable marriage. Even some of her own subjects, though they did not openly declare their pretensions, entertained hopes of success. The earl of Arundel, a person declining in years, but descended from an ancient and noble family,

²⁴ Camden, p. 388. Strype, vol. i. p. 230. 336, 337.

²⁵ Haynes, vol. i. p. 233.

C H A P.

XXXVIII.

1561.

as well as possessed of great riches, flattered himself with this prospect; as did also Sir William Pickering, a man much esteemed for his personal merit. But the person most likely to succeed, was a younger son of the late duke of Northumberland, lord Robert Dudley, who, by means of his exterior qualities, joined to address and flattery, had become, in a manner, her declared favorite, and had great influence in all her counsels. The less worthy he appeared of this distinction, the more was his great favor ascribed to some violent affection, which could thus seduce the judgment of this penetrating princess; and men long expected, that he would obtain the preference above so many princes and monarchs. But the queen gave all these suitors a gentle refusal, which still encouraged their pursuit; and she thought, that she should the better attach them to her interests, if they were still allowed to entertain hopes of succeeding in their pretensions. It is also probable, that this policy was not entirely free from a mixture of female coquetry; and that, though she was determined in her own mind never to share her power with any man, she was not displeased with the courtship, solicitation, and professions of love, which the desire of acquiring so valuable a prize procured her from all quarters.

WHAT is most singular in the conduct and character of Elizabeth, is, that, though she determined never to have any heir of her own body, she was not only very averse to fix any successor

to the crown; but seems also to have resolved, as far as it lay in her power, that no one, who had pretensions to the succession, should ever have any heirs or successors. If the exclusion given by the will of Henry VIII. to the posterity of Margaret, queen of Scotland, was allowed to be valid, the right to the crown devolved on the house of Suffolk; and the lady Catherine Gray, younger sister to the lady Jane, was now the heir of that family. This lady had been married to lord Herbert, son of the earl of Pembroke; but having been divorced from that nobleman, she had made a private marriage with the earl of Hertford, son of the protector; and her husband, soon after consummation, travelled into France. In a little time she appeared to be pregnant, which so enraged Elizabeth, that she threw her into the Tower, and summoned Hertford to appear, in order to answer for his misdemeanour. He made no scruple of acknowledging the marriage, which, though concluded without the queen's consent, was entirely suitable to both parties; and for this offence he was also committed to the Tower. Elizabeth's severity stopped not here: She issued a commission to inquire into the matter; and as Hertford could not, within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witnesses, the commerce between him and his consort was declared unlawful, and their posterity illegitimate. They were still detained in custody; but by bribing their keepers, they found means to have farther intercourse; and another child

C H A P.

XXXVIII.

1561.

C H A P. appeared to be the fruit of their commerce.
 XXXVIII. This was a fresh source of vexation to the queen;
 1561. who made a fine of fifteen thousand pounds be
 set on Hertford by the star-chamber, and ordered
 his confinement to be thenceforth more rigid and
 severe. He lay in this condition for nine years,
 till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth
 from all fears, procured him his liberty". This
 extreme severity must be accounted for, either by
 the unrelenting jealousy of the queen, who was
 afraid lest a pretender to the succession should
 acquire credit by having issue; or by her malign-
 nity, which, with all her great qualities, made
 one ingredient in her character, and which led
 her to envy in others those natural pleasures of
 love and posterity, of which her own ambition
 and desire of dominion made her renounce all
 prospect for herself.

THERE happened, about this time, some other
 events in the royal family, where the queen's
 conduct was more laudable. Arthur Pole, and
 his brother, nephews to the late cardinal, and
 descended from the duke of Clarence together
 with Anthony Fortescue, who had married a
 sister of these gentlemen, and some other persons,
 were brought to their trial for intending to with-
 draw into France, with a view of soliciting suc-
 cours from the duke of Guise, of returning thence
 into Wales, and of proclaiming Mary queen of

" Haynes, vol. i. p. 369. 378. 396. Camden,
 p. 389. Heylin, p. 154.

England, and Arthur Pole duke of Clarence. C H A P.
They confessed the indictment, but asserted, that XXXVIII.
they never meant to execute these projects during 1561.
the queen's life-time: They had only deemed such
precautions requisite in case of her demise, which,
some pretenders to judicial astrology had assured
them, they might with certainty look for before
the year expired. They were condemned by
the jury; but received a pardon from the queen's
clemency⁹⁷.

⁹⁷ Strype, vol. i. p. 333. Heylin, p. 154.

C H A P. XXXIX.

State of Europe—Civil wars of France—Havre de Grace put in possession of the English—A parliament—Havre lost—Affairs of Scotland—The queen of Scots marries the earl of Darnley—Confederacy against the protestants—Murder of Rizzio—A parliament—Murder of Darnley—Queen of Scots marries Bothwell—Insurrection in Scotland—Imprisonment of Mary—Mary flies into England—Conferences at York and Hampton Court.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1562.
State of
Europe.

AFTER the commencement of the religious wars in France, which rendered that flourishing kingdom, during the course of near forty years, a scene of horror and devastation, the great rival powers in Europe were Spain and England; and it was not long before an animosity, first political, then personal, broke out between the sovereigns of these countries.

PHILIP II. of Spain, though he reached not any enlarged views of policy, was endowed with great industry and sagacity, a remarkable caution in his enterprises, an unusual foresight in all his measures; and as he was ever cool and seemingly unmoved by passion, and possessed neither talents nor inclination for war, both his subjects and his neighbours had reason to expect justice, happiness, and tranquillity, from his administration. But prejudices had on him as pernicious effects

as ever passion had on any other monarch; and the spirit of bigotry and tyranny, by which he was actuated, with the fraudulent maxims which governed his counsels, excited the most violent agitation among his own people, engaged him in acts of the most enormous cruelty, and threw all Europe into combustion.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1562.

AFTER Philip had concluded peace at Cateau-Cambresis, and had remained some time in the Netherlands, in order to settle the affairs of that country, he embarked for Spain; and as the gravity of that nation, with their respectful obedience to their prince, had appeared more agreeable to his humor, than the homely familiar manners, and the pertinacious liberty of the Flemings, it was expected, that he would for the future reside altogether at Madrid, and would govern all his extensive dominions by Spanish ministers and Spanish counsels. Having met with a violent tempest on his voyage, he no sooner arrived in harbour, than he fell on his knees; and after giving thanks for his deliverance, he vowed, that his life, which was thus providentially saved, should thenceforth be entirely devoted to the extirpation of heresy^{*}. His subsequent conduct corresponded to these professions. Finding that the new doctrines had penetrated into Spain, he let loose the rage of persecution against all who professed them, or were suspected of adhering to them; and by his violence he gave new edge,

^{*} Thuanus, lib. xxiii. cap. 14.

C H A P. even to the usual cruelty of priests and inquisitors.

XXXIX. He threw into prison Constantine Ponce, who

1562.

had been confessor to his father, the emperor Charles; who had attended him during his retreat; and in whose arms that great monarch had terminated his life: And after this ecclesiastic died in confinement, he still ordered him to be tried and condemned for heresy, and his statue to be committed to the flames. He even deliberated, whether he should not exercise like severity against the memory of his father, who was suspected, during his later years, to have indulged a propensity towards the Lutheran principles: In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he spared neither age, sex, nor condition: He was present, with an inflexible countenance, at the most barbarous executions: He issued rigorous orders, for the prosecution of heretics, in Spain, Italy, the Indies, and the Low Countries: And having founded his determined tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, he made it apparent to all his subjects, that there was no method, except the most entire compliance, or most obstinate resistance, to escape or elude the severity of his vengeance.

DURING that extreme animosity, which prevailed between the adherents of the opposite religions, the civil magistrate, who found it difficult, if not impossible, for the same laws to govern such enraged adversaries, was naturally led, by specious rules of prudence, in embracing one party, to declare war against the other, and

to exterminate, by fire and sword, those bigots, who, from abhorrence of his religion, had proceeded to an opposition of his power, and to a hatred of his person. If any prince possessed such enlarged views as to foresee, that a mutual toleration would in time abate the fury of religious prejudices, he yet met with difficulties in reducing this principle to practice; and might deem the malady too violent to await a remedy, which, though certain, must necessarily be slow in its operation. But Philip, though a profound hypocrite, and extremely governed by self-interest, seems also to have been himself actuated by an imperious bigotry; and as he employed great reflection in all his conduct, he could easily palliate the gratification of his natural temper under the color of wisdom, and find in this system no less advantage to his foreign than his domestic politics. By placing himself at the head of the catholic party, he converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partisans of Spanish greatness; and by employing the powerful allurements of religion, he seduced every where the subjects from that allegiance which they owed to their native sovereign.

THE course of events, guiding and concurring with choice, had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite; and had raised her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the support of the numerous, though still persecuted protestants, throughout Europe. More moderate in her temper than Philip, she found, with pleasure, that the

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1562.

C H A P. principles of her sect required not such extreme
 XXXIX. severity in her domestic government, as was
 1562. exercised by that monarch; and having no object
 but self-preservation, she united her interests in
 all foreign negotiations with those who were
 every where struggling under oppression, and
 guarding themselves against ruin and extermi-
 nation. The more virtuous sovereign was thus
 happily thrown into the more favorable cause; and
 fortune; in this instance, concurred with policy
 and nature.

DURING the life-time of Henry II. of France, and of his successor, the force of these principles was somewhat restrained, though not altogether overcome, by motives of a superior interest; and the dread of uniting England with the French monarchy, engaged Philip to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. Yet even during this period he rejected the garter which she sent him; he refused to ratify the ancient league between the house of Burgundy and England²; he furnished ships to transport French forces into Scotland; he endeavoured to intercept the earl of Arran, who was hastening to join the malecontents in that country; and the queen's wisest ministers still regarded his friendship as hollow and precarious³. But no sooner did the death of Francis II. put an end to Philip's apprehensions

² Digges's Complete Ambassador, p. 369. Haynes, p. 585. Strype, vol. iv. N^o. 246.

³ Haynes, vol. i. p. 280, 281. 283, 284.

with regard to Mary's succession, than his animosity against Elizabeth began more openly to appear; and the interests of Spain and those of England were found opposite in every negotiation and transaction.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1562.

THE two great monarchies of the continent, France and Spain, being possessed of nearly equal force, were naturally antagonists; and England, from its power and situation, was entitled to support its own dignity, as well as tranquillity, by holding the balance between them. Whatever incident, therefore, tended too much to depress one of these rival powers, as it left the other without controul, might be deemed contrary to the interests of England: Yet so much were these great maxims of policy over-ruled, during that age, by the disputes of theology, that Philip found an advantage in supporting the established government and religion of France; and Elizabeth in protecting faction and innovation.

The queen-regent of France, when reinstated in authority by the death of her son, Francis, had formed a plan of administration more subtle than judicious; and balancing the catholics with the hugonots, the duke of Guise with the prince of Condé, she endeavoured to render herself necessary to both, and to establish her own dominion on their constrained obedience*. But the equal counterpoise of power, which, among foreign nations, is the source of tranquillity,

Civil wars
of France.

* Davila, lib. ii.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1562.

proves always the ground of quarrel between domestic factions ; and if the animosity of religion concur with the frequent occasions , which present themselves , of mutual injury , it is impossible, during any time , to preserve a firm concord in so delicate a situation. The constable , Montmorency , moved by zeal for the ancient faith , joined himself to the duke of Guise : The king of Navarre , from his inconstant temper , and his jealousy of the superior genius of his brother , embraced the same party : And Catherine , finding herself depressed by this combination , had recourse to Condé and the hugonots , who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themselves by her countenance and protection ⁵. An edict had been published , granting a toleration to the protestants ; but the interested violence of the duke of Guise , covered with the pretence of religious zeal , broke through this agreement ; and the two parties , after the fallacious tranquillity of a moment , renewed their mutual insults and injuries. Condé , Coligni , Andelot , assembled their friends , and flew to arms : Guise and Montmorency got possession of the king's person , and constrained the queen-regent to embrace their party : Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France ⁶ : each province , each city , each family , was agitated with intestine rage and animosity. The father was divided against the son ; brother against brother ;

⁵ Davila , lib. iii.

⁶ Father Paul , lib. vii.

and

and women themselves, sacrificing their humanity as well as their timidity to the religious fury, distinguished themselves by acts of ferocity and valor⁷. Wherever the hugonots prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, the monasteries consumed with fire: Where success attended the catholics, they burned the bibles, re-baptized the infants, constrained married persons to pass anew through the nuptial ceremony: And plunder, desolation, and bloodshed attended equally the triumph of both parties. The parliament of Paris itself, the seat of law and justice, instead of employing its authority to compose these fatal quarrels, published an edict, by which it put the sword into the hands of the enraged multitude, and empowered the catholics every where to massacre the hugonots⁸: And it was during this period, when men began to be somewhat enlightened, and in this nation, renowned for polished manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, seems to have attained its last stage of virulence and ferocity.

PHILIP, jealous of the progress which the hugonots made in France, and dreading that the contagion would spread into the Low Country provinces, had formed a secret alliance with the princes of Guise, and had entered into a mutual concert for the protection of the ancient faith, and the suppression of heresy. He now sent six

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1562.

⁷ Father Paul, lib. vii. ⁸ Ibid. Haynes, p. 391.

C H A P. thousand men, with some supply of money, to
XXXIX. reinforce the catholic party; and the prince of
1562. Condé, finding himself unequal to so great a
 combination, countenanced by the royal authority,
 was obliged to dispatch the Vidame of Chartres
 and Brieguemaut to London, in order to crave
 the assistance and protection of Elizabeth. Most
 of the province of Normandy was possessed by
 the hugonots: And Condé offered to put Havre
 de Grace into the hands of the English; on con-
 dition, that, together with three thousand men
 for the garrison of that place, the queen should
 likewise send over three thousand to defend
 Dieppe and Rouen, and should furnish the prince
 with a supply of a hundred thousand crowns*.

Havre de
 Grace put in
 possession of
 the English.

20th Sept.

ELIZABETH, besides the general and essential
 interest of supporting the protestants, and op-
 posing the rapid progress of her enemy the duke
 of Guise, had other motives which engaged her
 to accept of this proposal. When she concluded
 the peace at Cateau-Cambresis, she had good rea-
 son to foresee, that France never would voluntarily
 fulfil the article, which regarded the restitution
 of Calais; and many subsequent incidents had
 tended to confirm this suspicion. Considerable
 sums of money had been expended on the for-
 tifications; long leases had been granted of the
 lands; and many inhabitants had been encouraged
 to build and settle there, by assurances that Calais
 should never be restored to the English^{1°}. The

* Forbes, vol. ii. p. 48. ^{1°} Ibid. p. 54. 257.

queen, therefore, wisely concluded, that, could she get possession of Havre, a place, which commanded the mouth of the Seine, and was of greater importance than Calais, she should easily constrain the French to execute the treaty, and should have the glory of restoring to the crown that ancient possession, so much the favorite of the nation.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1562.

No measure could be more generally odious in France, than the conclusion of this treaty with Elizabeth. Men were naturally led to compare the conduct of Guise, who had finally expelled the English, and had debarred these dangerous and destructive enemies from all access into France, with the treasonable politics of Condé, who had again granted them an entrance into the heart of the kingdom. The prince had the more reason to repent of this measure, as he reaped not from it all the advantage which he expected. Three thousand English immediately took possession of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of Sir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found so little capable of defence, that it was immediately abandoned ¹¹. The siege of Rouen was already formed by the catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and Montmorency; and it was with difficulty that Poinings could throw a small reinforcement into the place. Though these English troops behaved with gallantry ¹², and though the king of Navarre

¹¹ Forbes, vol. ii. p. 199. ¹² Ibid. p. 161.

E H A P. was mortally wounded during the siege; the
 XXXIX. catholics still continued the attack of the place,
 1562. and carrying it at last by assault, put the whole
 garrison to the sword. The earl of Warwic,
 eldest son of the late duke of Northumberland,
 arrived soon after at Havre, with another body
 of three thousand English, and took on him the
 command of the place.

It was expected, that the French catholics,
 flushed with their success at Rouen, would imme-
 diately have formed the siege of Havre, which
 was not as yet in any condition of defence; but
 the intestine disorders of the kingdom soon
 diverted their attention to another enterprize.
 Andelot, seconded by the negociations of Eliza-
 beth, had levied a considerable body of protestants
 in Germany; and having arrived at Orleans, the
 seat of the hugonots' power, he enabled the
 prince of Condé and the admiral to take the field,
 and oppose the progress of their enemies. After
 threatening Paris during some time, they took
 their march towards Normandy, with a view of
 engaging the English to act in conjunction with
 them, and of fortifying themselves by the farther
 assistance, which they expected from the zeal and
 vigor of Elizabeth¹³. The catholics, commanded
 by the constable, and under him by the duke of
 Guise, followed on their rear; and overtaking
 them at Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The
 field was fought with great obstinacy on both

¹³ Forbes, p. 320. Davila, lib. iii.

fides: And the action was distinguished by this singular event, that Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the opposite armies, fell both of them prisoners into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guise; but the admiral, whose fate it ever was to be defeated, and still to rise more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the army; and inspiring his own unconquerable courage and constancy into every breast, kept them in a body, and subdued some considerable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to support his cause, sent him a new supply of a hundred thousand crowns; and offered, if he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give her bond for another sum of equal amount¹⁴.

C H A P.
XXXIX.

THE expences, incurred by assisting the French hugonots, had emptied the queen's exchequer; and in order to obtain supply, she found herself under a necessity of summoning a parliament: An expedient, to which she never willingly had recourse. A little before the meeting of this assembly, she had fallen into a dangerous illness, the small-pox; and as her life, during some time, was despaired of, the people became the more sensible of their perilous situation, derived from the uncertainty, which, in case of her demise, attended the succession of the crown. The partisans of the queen of Scots, and those of the house of Suffolk, already divided the nation into

1563.
January 12.
A parliament.

¹⁴ Forbes, vol. ii. p. 322. 347.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1563.

factions; and every one foresaw, that, though it might be possible at present to determine the controversy by law, yet, if the throne were vacant, nothing but the sword would be able to fix a successor. The commons, therefore, on the opening of the session, voted an address to the queen; in which, after enumerating the dangers attending a broken and doubtful succession, and mentioning the evils which their fathers had experienced from the contending titles of York and Lancaster, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehensions, by choosing some husband, whom, they promised, whoever he were, gratefully to receive, and faithfully to serve, honor, and obey: Or if she had entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired, that the lawful successor might be named, at least appointed, by act of parliament. They remarked, that, during all the reigns which had passed since the conquest, the nation had never before been so unhappy, as not to know the person, who, in case of the sovereign's death, was legally entitled to fill the vacant throne. And they observed, that the fixed order, which took place in inheriting the French monarchy, was one chief source of the usual tranquillity, as well as of the happiness, of that kingdom¹⁵.

THIS subject, though extremely interesting to the nation, was very little agreeable to the queen; and she was sensible, that great difficulties

¹⁵ Sir Simon D'Ewes's Journ. p. 81.

would attend every decision. A declaration in favor of the queen of Scots would form a settlement perfectly legal; because that princess was commonly allowed to possess the right of blood; and the exclusion given by Henry's will, deriving its weight chiefly from an act of parliament, would lose all authority, whenever the queen and parliament had made a new settlement, and restored the Scottish line to its place in the succession. But she dreaded giving encouragement to the catholics, her secret enemies, by this declaration. She was sensible that every heir was, in some degree, a rival; much more one who enjoyed a claim for the present possession of the crown, and who had already advanced, in a very open manner, these dangerous pretensions. The great power of Mary, both from the favor of the catholic princes, and her connexions with the house of Guise, not to mention the force and situation of Scotland, was well known to her; and she saw no security, that this princess, if fortified by a sure prospect of succession, would not revive claims, which she could never yet be prevailed on formally to relinquish. On the other hand, the title of the house of Suffolk was supported by the more zealous protestants only; and it was very doubtful, whether even a parliamentary declaration in its favor would bestow on it such validity as to give satisfaction to the people. The republican part of the constitution had not yet acquired such an ascendant as to controul, in any degree, the ideas of hereditary right; and as the

C H A P.
XXXIX.

1563.

Q H A P. legality of Henry's will was still disputed, though
 XXXIX, founded on the utmost authority which a parlia-
 1563, ment could confer; who could be assured, that
 a more recent act would be acknowledged to
 have greater validity? In the frequent revolu-
 tions, which had of late taken place, the right
 of blood had still prevailed over religious prejudi-
 ces; and the nation had ever shown itself disposed
 rather to change its faith than the order of succe-
 ssion. Even many protestants declared themselves
 in favor of Mary's claim of inheritance¹⁶; and
 nothing would occasion more general disgust,
 than to see the queen, openly and without reserve,
 take part against it. The Scottish princess also,
 finding herself injured in so sensible a point,
 would thenceforth act as a declared enemy; and
 uniting together her foreign and domestic friends,
 the partisans of her present title and of her
 eventual succession, would soon bring matters to
 extremities against the present establishment. The
 queen, weighing all these inconveniences, which
 were great and urgent, was determined to keep
 both parties in awe, by maintaining still an
 ambiguous conduct; and she rather chose, that
 the people should run the hazard of contingent
 events, than that she herself should visibly endan-
 ger her throne, by employing expedients, which,
 at best, would not bestow entire security on the
 nation. She gave, therefore, an evasive answer
 to the applications of the commons; and when

¹⁶ Keith, p. 322.

the house, at the end of the session, desired, by the mouth of their speaker, farther satisfaction on that head, she could not be prevailed on to make her reply more explicit. She only told them, contrary to her declarations in the beginning of her reign, that she had fixed no absolute resolution against marriage; and she added, that the difficulties, attending the question of the succession, were so great, that she would be contented, for the sake of her people, to remain some time longer in this vale of misery; and never should depart life with satisfaction, till she had laid some solid foundation for their future security ¹⁷.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1563.

THE most remarkable law passed this session was that which bore the title of *Assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions* ¹⁸. By this act, the asserting twice, by writing, word, or deed, the pope's authority, was subjected to the penalties of treason. All persons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of supremacy; as also, all who were advanced to any degree, either in the universities or in common law; all schoolmasters, officers in court, or members of parliament: And the penalty of their second refusal was treason. The first offence, in both cases, was punished by banishment and forfeiture. This rigorous statute was not extended to any of the degree of a baron; because it was not supposed, that the queen could entertain any doubt with regard to the fidelity of persons pos-

¹⁷ Sir Simon D'Ewe's Journal, p. 75. ¹⁸ 5 Eliz. c. 1.

C H A P. fessed of such high dignity. Lord Montacute
 XXXIX. made opposition to the bill; and asserted in favor
 1563. of the catholics, that they disputed not, they
 preached not, they disobeyed not the queen, they
 caused no trouble, no tumults among the people¹⁹.
 It is, however, probable, that some suspicions of
 their secret conspiracies had made the queen and
 parliament increase their rigor against them;
 though it is also more than probable, that they
 were mistaken in the remedy.

THERE was likewise another point, in which
 the parliament, this session, showed more the good-
 ness of their intention than the soundness of their
 judgment. They passed a law against fond and
 fantastical prophecies, which had been observed to
 seduce the people into rebellion and disorder²⁰:
 But at the same time they enacted a statute, which
 was most likely to increase these and such like
 superstitions: It was levelled against conjurations,
 enchantments, and witchcraft²¹. Witchcraft and
 heresy are two crimes, which commonly increase
 by punishment, and never are so effectually sup-
 pressed as by being totally neglected. After the
 parliament had granted the queen a supply of
 one subsidy and two fifteenths, the session was
 finished by a prorogation. The convocation like-
 wise voted the queen a subsidy of six shillings in
 the pound, payable in three years.

WHILE the English parties exerted these calm

¹⁹ Strype, vol. i. p. 260.

²⁰ 5 Eliz. c. 15.

²¹ Ibid. c. 16.

efforts against each other, in parliamentary votes and debates, the French factions, inflamed to the highest degree of animosity, continued that cruel war, which their intemperate zeal, actuated by the ambition of their leaders, had kindled in the kingdom. The admiral was successful in reducing the towns of Normandy, which held for the king; but he frequently complained, that the numerous garrison of Havre, remained totally inactive, and was not employed in any military operation against the common enemy. The queen, in taking possession of that place, had published a manifesto²², in which she pretended, that her concern for the interests of the French king had engaged her in that measure, and that her sole intention was to oppose her enemies of the house of Guise, who held their prince in captivity, and employed his power to the destruction of his best and most faithful subjects. It was chiefly her desire to preserve appearances, joined to the great frugality of her temper, which made her, at this critical juncture, keep her soldiers in garrison, and restrain them from committing farther hostilities upon the enemy²³. The duke of Guise, meanwhile, was aiming a mortal blow at the power of the hugonots; and had commenced the siege of Orleans, of which Andelot was governor, and where the constable was detained prisoner. He had the prospect of speedy success in this undertaking; when he was assassinated by Poltrot, a young gentle-

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1563.

²² Forbes, vol. ii. ²³ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 276. 277.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1563.

man, whose zeal, instigated (as is pretended, though without any certain foundation) by the admiral and Beza, a famous preacher, led him to attempt that criminal enterprize. The death of this gallant prince was a sensible loss to the catholic party, and though the cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, still supported the interests of the family, the danger of their progress appeared not so imminent either to Elizabeth or to the French protestants. The union, therefore, between these allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, began thenceforth to be less intimate; and the leaders of the hugonots were persuaded to hearken to terms of a separate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency held conferences for settling the peace; and as they were both of them impatient to relieve themselves from captivity, they soon came to an agreement with regard to the conditions. The character of the queen-regent, whose ends were always violent, but who endeavoured, by subtilty and policy, rather than force, to attain them, led her to embrace any plausible terms, and in spite of the protestations of the admiral, whose sagacity could easily discover the treachery of the court, the articles of agreement were finally settled between the parties. A toleration, under some restrictions, was a-new granted to the protestants; a general amnesty was published; Condé was reinstated in his offices and governments; and after money was advanced for the payment of

arrears to the German troops, they were dismissed the kingdom. C H A P.
XXXIX.

1563.

By the agreement between Elizabeth and the prince of Condé it had been stipulated ²⁴, that neither party should conclude peace without the consent of the other; but this article was at present but little regarded by the leaders of the French protestants. They only comprehended her so far in the treaty, as to obtain a promise, that, on her relinquishing Havre, her charges and the money which she had advanced them, should be repaid her by the king of France, and that Calais, on the expiration of the term, should be restored to her. But she disdained to accept of these conditions; and thinking the possession of Havre a much better pledge for effecting her purpose, she sent Warwic orders to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy.

THE earl of Warwic, who commanded a garrison of six thousand men, besides seven hundred pioneers, had no sooner got possession of Havre, than he employed every means for putting it in a posture of defence ²⁵; and after expelling the French from the town, he encouraged his soldiers to make the most desperate defence against the enemy. The constable commanded the French army; the queen-regent herself, and the king, were present in the camp; even the prince of Condé joined the king's forces, and gave coun-

²⁴ Forbes, vol. ii. p. 79.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 158.

C H A P. XXXIX. 1563. tenance to this enterprize; the admiral and Andelot alone, anxious still to preserve the friendship of Elizabeth, kept at a distance, and prudently refused to join their ancient enemies in an attack upon their allies.

FROM the force, and dispositions, and situation of both sides, it was expected, that the siege would be attended with some memorable event; yet did France make a much easier acquisition of this important place, than was at first apprehended. The plague crept in among the English soldiers; and being increased by their fatigue and bad diet (for they were but ill supplied with provisions ²⁶) it made such ravages, that sometimes a hundred men a-day died of it, and there remained not at last fifteen hundred in a condition to do duty ²⁷. The French, meeting with such feeble resistance, carried on their attacks successfully; and having made two breaches, each of them sixty feet wide, they prepared for a general assault, which must have terminated in the slaughter of the whole garrison ²⁸. Warwic, who had frequently warned the English council of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, found himself obliged to capitulate, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison. The articles were no sooner signed, than lord Clinton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary

Havre lost.
28th July.

²⁶ Forbes, vol. ii. p. 377. 498. ²⁷ Ibid p. 450. 458.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 498.

winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thousand men; and found the place surrendered to the enemy. To increase the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. Above twenty thousand persons, there, died of it in one year ²⁹.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1563.

ELIZABETH, whose usual vigor and foresight had not appeared in this transaction, was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen-regent desired to obtain leisure, in order to prepare measures for the extermination of the hugonots, she readily hearkened to any reasonable terms of accommodation with England ³⁰. It was agreed, that the hostages, which the French had given for the restitution of Calais, should be restored for 220,000 crowns; and that both sides should retain all their claims and pretensions.

2d April.

THE peace still continued with Scotland; and even a cordial friendship seemed to have been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. These princesses made profession of the most entire affection; wrote amicable letters every week to each other; and had adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as style of sisters. Elizabeth punished one Hales, who had published a book against Mary's title ³¹; and as the lord keeper Bacon was thought to have encouraged Hales in

Scotch affairs.

²⁹ See note [K] at the end of the volume.

³⁰ Davila, lib. 3. ³¹ Keith, p. 252.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1563.

this undertaking, he fell under her displeasure, and it was with some difficulty he was able to give her satisfaction, and recover her favor³². The two queens had agreed in the foregoing summer to an interview at York³³; in order to remove all difficulties with regard to Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to consider of the proper method for settling the succession of England: But as Elizabeth carefully avoided touching on this delicate subject, she employed a pretence of the wars in France, which, she said, would detain her in London; and she delayed till next year the intended interview. It is also probable, that, being well acquainted with the beauty and address and accomplishments of Mary, she did not chuse to stand the comparison with regard to those exterior qualities, in which she was eclipsed by her rival; and was unwilling, that a princess, who had already made great progress in the esteem and affections of the English, should have a farther opportunity of increasing the number of her partisans.

MARY's close connexions with the house of Guise, and her devoted attachment to her uncles, by whom she had been early educated and constantly protected, was the ground of just and unfurmountable jealousy to Elizabeth, who regarded them as her mortal and declared enemies, and was well acquainted with their dangerous character and ambitious projects. They had made

³² Keith, p. 253. ³³ Haynes, p. 388.

offer of their niece to Don Carlos, Philip's son; C H A P.
 to the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, the XXXIX.
 archduke Charles, the duke of Ferrara, the Cardinal
 of Bourbon, who had only taken deacon's
 orders, from which he might easily be freed by
 a dispensation; and they were ready to marry her
 to any one, who could strengthen their interests,
 or give inquietude and disturbance to Elizabeth³⁴.
 Elizabeth on her part was equally vigilant to
 prevent the execution of their schemes, and was
 particularly anxious, lest Mary should form any
 powerful foreign alliance, which might tempt her
 to revive her pretensions to the crown, and to
 invade the kingdom on the side where it was
 weakest and lay most exposed³⁵. As she believed,
 that the marriage with the archduke Charles was
 the one most likely to have place, she used every
 expedient to prevent it; and besides remonstrating
 against it to Mary herself, she endeavoured to
 draw off the archduke from that pursuit, by
 giving him some hopes of success in his pretensions
 to herself, and by inviting him to a renewal of
 the former treaty of marriage³⁶. She always told
 the queen of Scots, that nothing would satisfy
 her but her espousing some English nobleman,
 who would remove all grounds of jealousy, and
 cement the union between the kingdoms; and
 she offered on this condition to have her title
 examined, and to declare her successor to the

³⁴ Forbes, vol. ii. p. 287. Strype, vol. i. p. 400.

³⁵ Keith, p. 247. 284. ³⁶ Melvil, p. 41.

Q H A P. crown³⁷. After keeping the matter in these general
XXXIX. terms during a twelvemonth, she at last named
 1563. lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leicester,
 as the person on whom she desired that Mary's
 choice should fall.

THE earl of Leicester, the great and powerful favorite of Elizabeth, possessed all those exterior qualities, which are naturally alluring to the fair sex; a handsome person, a polite address, an insinuating behaviour; and by means of these accomplishments, he had been able to blind even the penetration of Elizabeth, and conceal from her the great defects, or rather odious vices, which attended his character. He was proud, insolent, interested, ambitious; without honor, without generosity, without humanity; and atoned not for these bad qualities, by such abilities or courage, as could fit him for that high trust and confidence, with which she always honored him. Her constant and declared attachment to him had naturally emboldened him to aspire to her bed; and in order to make way for these nuptials, he was universally believed to have murdered, in a barbarous manner, his wife, the heiress of one Robefart. The proposal of espousing Mary was by no means agreeable to him; and he always ascribed it to the contrivance of Cecil, his enemy; who, he thought, intended by that artifice to make him lose the friendship of Mary from the temerity of his pretensions, and that of Elizabeth

³⁷ Keith, p. 243. 249. 259. 265.

from jealousy of his attachments to another woman³⁸. The queen herself had not any serious intention of effecting this marriage; but as she was desirous, that the queen of Scots should never have any husband, she named a man, who, she believed, was not likely to be accepted of; and she hoped, by that means, to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. The earl of Leicester was too great a favorite to be parted with; and when Mary, allured by the prospect of being declared successor to the crown, seemed at last to hearken to Elizabeth's proposal, this princess receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait, which she had thrown out to her rival³⁹. This duplicity of conduct, joined to some appearance of an imperious superiority, assumed by her, had drawn a peevish letter from Mary; and the seemingly amicable correspondence between the two queens was, during some time, interrupted. In order to make up the breach, the queen of Scots dispatched Sir James Melvil to London; who has given us in his memoirs a particular account of his negociation.

MELVIL was an agreeable courtier, a man of address and conversation; and it was recommended to him by his mistress, that, besides grave reasonings concerning politics and state-affairs, he should introduce more entertaining topics of conversation, suitable to the sprightly character of

³⁸ Camden, p. 396. ³⁹ Keith, p. 269, 270. Appendix, p. 158. Strype, vol. i. p. 414.

C H A P. Elizabeth ; and should endeavour by that means
 XXXIX. to insinuate himself into her confidence. He suc-
 1563. ceeded so well , that he threw that artful princess
 entirely off her guard ^{4°}, and made her discover the
 bottom of her heart , full of all those levities and
 follies and ideas of rivalship , which possess the
 youngest and most frivolous of her sex. He talked
 to her of his travels , and forgot not to mention
 the different dresses of the ladies in different
 countries , and the particular advantages of each ,
 in setting off the beauties of the shape and person.
 The queen said, that she had dresses of all countries ;
 and she took care thenceforth to meet the ambaf-
 fador every day apparelled in a different habit :
 Sometimes she was dressed in the English garb ,
 sometimes in the French, sometimes in the Italian ;
 and she asked him , which of them became her
 most ? He answered , the Italian ; a reply , that ,
 he knew , would be agreeable to her , because
 that mode showed to advantage her flowing locks ,
 which , he remarked , though they were more red
 than yellow , she fancied to be the finest in the
 world. She desired to know of him what was
 reputed the best color of hair : She asked whether
 his queen or she had the finest hair : She even
 inquired which of them he esteemed the fairest
 person : A very delicate question , and which he
 prudently eluded , by saying that her majesty was
 the fairest person in England , and his mistress in
 Scotland. She next demanded which of them was

^{4°} Haynes , p. 447.

tallest : He replied, his queen : Then is she too tall, said Elizabeth : For I myself am of just stature. Having learned from him, that his mistress sometimes recreated herself by playing on the harp-fichord, an instrument on which she herself excelled, she gave orders to lord Hunsdon, that he should lead the ambassador, as it were casually, into an apartment, where he might hear her perform; and when Melvil, as if ravished with the harmony, broke into the queen's apartment, she pretended to be displeased with his intrusion; but still took care to ask him whether he thought Mary or her the best performer on that instrument⁴¹. From the whole of her behaviour, Melvil thought he might, on his return, assure his mistress, that she had no reason ever to expect any cordial friendship from Elizabeth, and that all her professions of amity were full of falsehood and dissimulation.

AFTER two years had been spent in evasions and artifices⁴², Mary's subjects and counsellors, and probably herself, began to think it full time, that some marriage were concluded, and lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lenox, was the person, in whom most men's opinions and wishes centered. He was Mary's cousin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Harry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret, queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where the earl of Lenox had constantly

⁴¹ Melvil, p. 49, 50.

⁴² Keith, p. 264.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1564.

resided, since he had been banished by the prevailing power of the house of Hamilton: And as Darnley was now in his twentieth year, and was a very comely person, tall and delicately shaped, it was hoped, that he might soon render himself agreeable to the queen of Scots. He was also by his father a branch of the same family with herself; and would, in espousing her, preserve the royal dignity in the house of Stuart: He was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and those who pretended to exclude her on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to recommend his title, and give it the preference. It seemed no inconsiderable advantage, that she could, by marrying him, unite both their claims; and as he was by birth an Englishman, and could not, by his power or alliances, give any ground of suspicion to Elizabeth, it was hoped, that the proposal of this marriage would not be unacceptable to that jealous princess.

ELIZABETH was well informed of these intentions⁴³, and was secretly not displeased with the projected marriage between Darnley and the queen of Scots⁴⁴. She would rather have wished, that Mary had continued for ever in a single life: But finding little probability of rendering this scheme effectual, she was satisfied with a choice, which freed her at once from the dread of a foreign

⁴³ Keith, p. 261.
vol. ii, p. 46.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 280, 282. Jebb,

alliance, and from the necessity of parting with C H A P.
 Leicester, her favorite. In order to pave the way XXXIX.
 to Darnley's marriage, she secretly desired Mary 1564.
 to invite Lenox into Scotland, to reverse his
 attainder, and to restore him to his honors and
 fortune⁴⁵. And when her request was complied
 with, she took care, in order to preserve the
 friendship of the Hamiltons and her other partisans
 in Scotland, to blame openly this conduct of
 Mary⁴⁶. Hearing that the negociation for Darnley's
 marriage advanced apace, she gave that nobleman
 permission, on his first application, to follow his
 father into Scotland: But no sooner did she learn,
 that the queen of Scots was taken with his figure
 and person, and that all measures were fixed for
 espousing him, than she exclaimed against the
 marriage; sent Throgmorton to order Darnley
 immediately, upon his allegiance, to return to
 England; threw the countess of Lenox and her
 second son into the Tower, where they suffered
 a rigorous confinement; seized all Lenox's English
 estate; and, though it was impossible for her to
 assign one single reason for her displeasure⁴⁷, she
 menaced, and protested, and complained, as if
 she had suffered the most grievous injury in the
 world. 28th Juny.

THE politics of Elizabeth, though judicious,
 were usually full of duplicity and artifice; but
 never more so than in her transactions with the

⁴⁵ Keith, p. 255. 259. 272. ⁴⁶ Melvil, p. 42.

⁴⁷ Keith, p. 274, 275.

CHAP. queen of Scots, where there entered so many
 XXXIX. little passions and narrow jealousies, that she
 1564. durst not avow to the world the reasons of her
 conduct, scarcely to her ministers, and scarcely
 even to herself. But besides a womanish rivalry
 and envy against the marriage of this princess,
 she had some motives of interest for feigning a
 displeasure on the present occasion. It served her
 as a pretence for refusing to acknowledge Mary's
 title to the succession of England; a point to
 which, for good reasons, she was determined
 never to consent. And it was useful to her for
 a purpose, still more unfriendly and dangerous,
 for encouraging the discontents and rebellion of
 the Scottish nobility and ecclesiastics⁴⁸.

NOTHING can be more unhappy for a people
 than to be governed by a sovereign, attached to
 a religion different from the established; and it is
 scarcely possible that mutual confidence can ever,
 in such a situation, have place between the prince
 and his subjects. Mary's conduct had been hi-
 therto, in every respect, unexceptionable, and
 even laudable; yet had she not made such pro-
 gress in acquiring popularity, as might have been
 expected from her gracious deportment and agree-
 able accomplishments. Suspicions every moment
 prevailed on account of her attachment to the
 catholic faith, and especially to her uncles, the
 open and avowed promoters of the scheme for
 exterminating the professors of the reformed

⁴⁸ Keith, p. 290.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1565.

religion throughout all Europe. She still refused to ratify the acts of parliament which had established the reformation; she made attempts for restoring to the catholic bishops some part of their civil jurisdiction⁴⁹; and she wrote a letter to the council of Trent, in which, besides professing her attachment to the catholic faith, she took notice of her title to succeed to the crown of England, and expressed her hopes of being able, in some period, to bring back all her dominions to the bosom of the church⁵⁰. The zealots among the protestants were not wanting, in their turn, to exercise their insolence against her, which tended still more to alienate her from their faith. A law was enacted, making it capital, on the very first offence, to say mass any where, except in the queen's chapel⁵¹; and it was with difficulty that even this small indulgence was granted her: The general assembly importuned her a-new to change her religion; to renounce the blasphemous idolatry of the mass, with the tyranny of the Roman Antichrist; and to embrace the true religion of Christ Jesus⁵². As she answered with temper, that she was not yet convinced of the falsity of her religion or the impiety of the mass; and that her apostacy would lose her the friendship of her allies on the continent; they replied, by assuring her, that their religion was undoubtedly the same which had

⁴⁹ Spotswood, p. 198.

⁵⁰ Father Paul, lib. 7.

⁵¹ Keith, p. 268.

⁵² Ibid. p. 545. Knox, p. 374.

C H A P. been revealed by Jesus Christ, which had been
XXXIX. preached by the apostles, and which had been
1565. embraced by the faithful in the primitive ages; that neither the religion of Turks, Jews, nor Papists was built on so solid a foundation as theirs; that they alone, of all the various species of religionists, spread over the face of the earth, were so happy as to be possessed of the truth; that those who hear, or rather who gaze on the mass, allow sacrilege, pronounce blasphemy, and commit most abominable idolatry; and that the friendship of the King of Kings was preferable to all the alliances in the world⁵³.

The queen
 of Scots
 marries the
 earl of Darn-
 ley.

THE marriage of the queen of Scots had kindled afresh the zeal of the reformers, because the family of Lenox was believed to adhere to the catholic faith; and though Darnley, who now bore the name of King Henry, went often to the established church, he could not, by this exterior compliance, gain the confidence and regard of the ecclesiastics. They rather laid hold of the opportunity to insult him to his face; and Knox scrupled not to tell him from the pulpit, that God, for punishment of the offences and ingratitude of the people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and women⁵⁴. The populace of Edinburgh, instigated by such doctrines, began to meet and to associate themselves against the government⁵⁵. But what threat-

⁵³ Keith, p. 550, 551. ⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 546. Knox, p. 381.

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 377.

ened more immediate danger to Mary's authority, were the discontents which prevailed among some of the principal nobility.

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1565.

THE duke of Chatellerault was displeased with the restoration, and still more with the aggrandizement of the family of Lenox, his hereditary enemies; and entertained fears lest his own eventual succession to the crown of Scotland should be excluded by his rival, who had formerly advanced some pretensions to it. The earl of Murray found his credit at court much diminished by the interest of Lenox, and his son; and began to apprehend the revocation of some considerable grants, which he had obtained from Mary's bounty. The earls of Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairne, the lords Boyde and Ochiltry, Kirkaldy of Grange, Pittarow, were instigated by like motives; and as these were the persons who had most zealously promoted the reformation, they were disgusted to find, that the queen's favor was entirely ingrossed by a new cabal, the earls of Bothwell, Athole, Sutherland, and Huntley; men who were esteemed either lukewarm in religious controversy, or inclined to the catholic party. The same ground of discontent, which, in other courts, is the source of intrigue, faction, and opposition, commonly produced in Scotland, either projects of assassination, or of rebellion; and besides mutual accusations of the former kind, which it is difficult to clear up⁶, the malecontent

⁶ See note [L] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. lords, as soon as they saw the queen's marriage
 XXXIX. entirely resolved on, entered into a confederacy
 1565. for taking arms against their sovereign. They
 met at Stirling; pretended an anxious concern
 for the security of religion; framed engagements
 for mutual defence; and made applications to
 Elizabeth for assistance and protection⁵⁷. That
 princess, after publishing the expressions of her
 displeasure against the marriage, had secretly
 ordered her ambassadors Randolph and Throgmor-
 ton, to give in her name some promises of sup-
 port to the malecontents; and had even sent them
 a supply of ten thousand pounds, to enable them
 to begin an insurrection⁵⁸.

MARY was no sooner informed of the meeting
 at Stirling, and the movements of the lords,
 than she summoned them to appear at court, in
 order to answer for their conduct; and having
 levied some forces to execute the laws, she oblig-
 ed the rebels to leave the low countries, and take
 shelter in Argyleshire. That she might more
 effectually cut off their resources, she proceeded
 with the king to Glasgow, and forced them from
 their retreat. They appeared at Paisley in the
 neighbourhood with about a thousand horse; and
 passing the queen's army, proceeded to Hamilton,
 thence to Edinburgh, which they entered with-
 out resistance. They expected great reinforce-

⁵⁷ Keith, p. 293, 294. 300, 301.

⁵⁸ Knox, p. 380. Keith, Append. p. 164. Anderson,
 vol. iii. p. 194.

ments in this place, from the efforts of Knox and the seditious preachers; and they beat their drums, desiring all men to enlist, and receive wages for the defence of God's glory⁵⁹. But the nation was in no disposition for rebellion: Mary was esteemed and beloved: Her marriage was not generally disagreeable to the people: And the interested views of the malecontent lords were so well known, that their pretence of zeal for religion had little influence even on the ignorant populace⁶⁰. The king and queen advanced to Edinburgh at the head of their army: The rebels were obliged to retire into the south; and being pursued by a force which now amounted to eighteen thousand men⁶¹, they found themselves under a necessity of abandoning their country, and of taking shelter in England.

ELIZABETH, when she found the event so much to disappoint her expectations, thought proper to disavow all connexions with the Scottish malecontents, and to declare every where, that she had never given them any encouragement, nor any promise of countenance or assistance. She even carried farther her dissimulation and hypocrisy. Murray had come to London, with the abbot of Kilwinning, agent for Chatellerault; and she seduced them, by secret assurances of protection, to declare, before the ambassadors of France and Spain, that she had nowise con-

⁵⁹ Knox, p. 381. ⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 380. 385.

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 388.

E H A P. tributed to their insurrection. No sooner had
 XXXIX. she extorted this confession from them, than she
 1565. chased them from her presence, called them
 unworthy traitors, declared that their detestable
 rebellion was of bad example to all princes, and
 assured them, that, as she had hitherto given them
 no encouragement, so should they never thence-
 forth receive from her any assistance or protec-
 tion⁶². Throgmorton alone, whose honor was equal
 to his abilities, could not be prevailed on to
 conceal the part, which he had acted in the en-
 terprise of the Scottish rebels; and being well
 apprised of the usual character and conduct of
 Elizabeth, he had had the precaution to obtain
 an order of council to authorise the engagements,
 which he had been obliged to take with them⁶³.

THE banished lords, finding themselves so
 harshly treated by Elizabeth, had recourse to the
 clemency of their own sovereign; and after some
 solicitation and some professions of sincere re-
 pentance, the duke of Chatellerault obtained
 his pardon, on condition that he should retire
 into France. Mary was more implacable
 against the ungrateful earl of Murray and the
 other confederates, on whom she threw the chief
 blame of the enterprise; but as she was continually
 plied with applications from their friends, and as
 some of her most judicious partisans in England
 thought, that nothing would more promote her

⁶² Melvil, p. 57. Knox, p. 388. Keith, p. 319.
 Crawford, p. 62, 63. ⁶³ Melvil, p. 60.

interests in that kingdom, than the gentle treatment of men so celebrated for their zeal against the catholic religion; she agreed to give way to her natural temper, which inclined not to severity, and she seemed determined to restore them to favor⁶⁴. In this interval, Rambouillet arrived as ambassador from France, and brought her advice from her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, to whose opinion she always paid an extreme deference, by no means to pardon these protestant leaders, who had been engaged in a rebellion against her⁶⁵.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1565.

THE two religions, in France, as well as in other parts of Europe, were rather irritated than tired with their acts of mutual violence; and the peace granted to the hugonots, as had been foreseen by Coligni, was intended only to lull them asleep, and prepare the way for their final and absolute destruction. The queen-regent made a pretence of travelling through the kingdom, in order to visit the provinces, and correct all the abuses arising from the late civil war; and after having held some conferences on the frontiers with the duke of Lorraine and the duke of Savoy, she came to Bayonne, where she was met by her daughter, the queen of Spain, and the duke of Alva. Nothing appeared in the congress of these two splendid courts, but gaiety, festivity, love, and joy; but amidst these smiling

⁶⁴ Melvil, p. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63. Keith, p. 322.

⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 325. Melvil, p. 63.

C H A P. XXXIX. appearances were secretly fabricated schemes the most bloody, and the most destructive to the repose of mankind, that had ever been thought of in any age or nation. No less than a total and universal extermination of the protestants by fire and sword was concerted by Philip and Catherine of Medicis; and Alva, agreeably to his fierce and sanguinary disposition, advised the queen-regent to commence the execution of this project, by the immediate massacre of all the leaders of the hugonots⁶⁶. But that princess, though equally hardened against every humane sentiment, would not forego this opportunity of displaying her wit and refined politics; and she purposed, rather by treachery and dissimulation, which she called address, to lead the protestants into the snare, and never to draw the sword, till they were totally disabled from resistance. The cardinal of Lorraine, whose character bore a greater affinity to that of Alva, was a chief author of this barbarous association against the reformers; and having connected his hopes of success with the aggrandizement of his niece, the queen of Scots, he took care, that her measures should correspond to those violent counsels, which were embraced by the other catholic princes. In consequence of this scheme, he turned her from the road of clemency, which she intended to have followed; and made her resolve on the total ruin of the banished lords⁶⁷. A parliament was sum-

Confederacy against the protestants.

1566.

⁶⁶ Davila, lib. iii. ⁶⁷ Melvil, p. 63. Keith's Append. p. 176.
moned

moned at Edinburgh for attainting them; and as their guilt was palpable and avowed, no doubt was entertained but sentence would be pronounced against them. It was by a sudden and violent incident, which, in the issue, brought on the ruin of Mary herself, that they were saved from the rigor of the law.

THE marriage of the queen of Scots with lord Darnley was so natural, and so inviting in all its circumstances, that it had been precipitately agreed to by that princess and her council; and while she was allured by his youth, and beauty, and exterior accomplishments, she had at first overlooked the qualities of his mind, which nowise corresponded to the excellence of his outward figure. Violent, yet variable in his resolutions; insolent, yet credulous and easily governed by flatterers; he was destitute of all gratitude, because he thought no favors equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, he was equally incapable of all true sentiments of love and tenderness⁶⁸. The queen of Scots, in the first effusions of her fondness, had taken a pleasure in exalting him beyond measure: She had granted him the title of king; she had joined his name with her own in all public acts; she intended to have procured him from the parliament a matrimonial crown: But having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and vices, she began to see the danger of her profuse liberality, and was

⁶⁸ Keith, p. 287. 329. Append. p. 163.

C H A P. resolved thenceforth to proceed with more reserve
 XXXIX. in the trust, which she should confer upon him.
 1566. His resentment against this prudent conduct served
 but the more to increase her disgust; and the
 young prince, enraged at her imagined neglects,
 pointed his vengeance against every one whom
 he deemed the cause of this change in her mea-
 sures and behaviour.

Murder of
 Rizzio.

THERE was in the court, one David Rizzio, who had of late obtained a very extraordinary degree of confidence and favor with the queen of Scots. He was a Piedmontese, of mean birth, son of a teacher of music, himself a musician; and finding it difficult to subsist by his art in his own country, he had followed into Scotland an ambassador, whom the duke of Savoy sent thither to pay his compliments to Mary, some time after her first arrival. He possessed a good ear, and a tolerable voice; and as that princess found him useful to complete her band of music, she retained him in her service after the departure of his master. Her secretary for French dispatches having, some time after, incurred her displeasure, she promoted Rizzio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunities of approaching her person, and insinuating himself into her favor. He was shrewd and sensible, as well as aspiring, much beyond his rank and education; and he made so good use of the access which fortune had procured him, that he was soon regarded as the chief confident and even minister of the queen. He was consulted on all occasions; no favors could be obtained but

by his intercession ; all suitors were obliged to gain him by presents and flattery ; and the man , insolent from his new exaltation , as well as rapacious in his acquisitions , soon drew on himself the hatred of the nobility and of the whole kingdom⁶⁰. He had at first employed his credit to promote Darnley's marriage ; and a firm friendship seemed to be established between them : But on the subsequent change of the queen's sentiments , it was easy for Henry's friends to persuade him , that Rizzio was the real author of her indifference , and even to rouse in his mind jealousies of a more dangerous nature. The favorite was of a disagreeable figure , but was not past his youth⁷⁰ ; and though the opinion of his criminal correspondence with Mary might seem of itself unreasonable , if not absurd , a suspicious husband could find no other means of accounting for that lavish and imprudent kindness , with which she honored him. The rigid austerity of the ecclesiastics , who could admit of no freedoms , contributed to spread this opinion among the people ; and as Rizzio was universally believed to be a pensionary of the pope's , and to be deeply engaged in all schemes against the protestants , any story , to his and Mary's disadvantage , received an easy credit among the zealots of that communion.

RIZZIO , who had connected his interests with the Roman catholics , was the declared enemy of

⁶⁰ Keith , p. 282. 302. Crawford's Memoirs , p. 5. Spotswood , p. 193. ⁷⁰ See note [M] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. the banished lords; and by promoting the violent
XXXIX. prosecution against them, he had exposed himself
1566. to the animosity of their numerous friends and retainers. A scheme was also thought to be formed for revoking some exorbitant grants made during the queen's minority, and even the nobility, who had seized the ecclesiastical benefices, began to think themselves less secure in the possession of them ⁷¹. The earl of Morton, chancellor, was affected by all these considerations, and still more by a rumor spread abroad, that Mary intended to appoint Rizzio chancellor in his place, and to bestow that dignity on a mean and upstart foreigner, ignorant of the laws and language of the country ⁷². So indiscreet had this princess been in her kindness to Rizzio, that even that strange report met with credit, and proved a great means of accelerating the ruin of the favorite. Morton, insinuating himself into Henry's confidence, employed all his art to inflame the discontent and jealousy of that prince; and he persuaded him, that the only means of freeing himself from the indignities under which he labored, was to bring the base stranger to the fate, which he had so well merited, and which was so passionately desired by the whole nation. George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox, concurred in the same advice; and the lords Ruthven, and

⁷¹ Keith, p. 326. Melvil, p. 64.

⁷² Buchanan, lib. xvii. c. 60. Crawford, p. 6. Spotswood, p. 194. Knox, p. 393. Jebb, vol. i. p. 456.

Lindsay, being consulted, offered their assistance in the enterprize; nor was even the earl of Lenox, the king's father, averse to the design ⁷³. But as these conspirators were well acquainted with Henry's levity, they engaged him to sign a paper, in which he avowed the undertaking, as tending to the glory of God and advancement of religion, and promised to protect them against every consequence, which might ensue upon the assassination of Rizzio ⁷⁴. All these measures being concerted, a messenger was dispatched to the banished lords, who were hovering near the borders; and they were invited by the king to return to their native country.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1566.

THIS design, so atrocious in itself, was rendered still more so by the circumstances which attended its execution. Mary, who was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in private, and had at table the countess of Argyle, her natural sister, with Rizzio, and others of her servants. The king entered the room by a private passage, and stood at the back of Mary's chair: Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conspirators, being all armed, rushed in after him; and the queen of Scots terrified with the appearance, demanded of them the reason of this rude intrusion. They told her, that they intended no violence against her person; but meant only to bring that villain, pointing to Rizzio, to his deserved

9th March

⁷³ Crawford, p. 7. ⁷⁴ Goodall, vol. i. p. 266.
Crawford, p. 7.

C H A P. punishment. Rizzio, aware of the danger, ran behind
 XXXIX. his mistress, and seizing her by the waist, called
 1566. aloud to her for protection; while she interposed
 in his behalf, with cries, and menaces, and entrea-
 ties. The impatient assassins, regardless of her
 efforts, rushed upon their prey, and by over-
 turning every thing which stood in their way,
 increased the horror and confusion of the scene.
 Douglas, seizing Henry's dagger, stuck it in the
 body of Rizzio, who, screaming with fear and
 agony, was torn from Mary by the other con-
 spirators, and pushed into the antichamber, where
 he was dispatched with fifty-six wounds⁷⁵. The
 unhappy princess, informed of his fate, immediate-
 ly dried her tears, and said, She would weep no
 more; she would now think of revenge. The
 insult, indeed, upon her person; the stain attempt-
 ed to be fixed on her honor; the danger to which
 her life was exposed, on account of her pregnancy;
 were injuries so atrocious, and so complicated,
 that they scarcely left room for pardon, even from
 the greatest lenity and mercy.

THE assassins, apprehensive of Mary's resentment,
 detained her prisoner in the palace; and the king
 dismissed all who seemed willing to attempt her
 rescue, by telling them, that nothing was done
 without his orders, and that he would be careful
 of the queen's safety. Murray and the banished
 lords appeared two days after; and Mary, whose
 anger was now engrossed by injuries more recent

⁷⁵ Melvil, p. 64. Keith, p. 330, 331. Crawford, p. 9.

and violent, was willingly reconciled to them; and she even received her brother with tenderness and affection. They obtained an acquittal from parliament, and were re-instated in their honors and fortunes. The accomplices also in Rizzio's murder applied to her for a pardon; but she artfully delayed compliance, and persuaded them, that so long as she was detained in custody, and was surrounded by guards, any deed, which she should sign, would have no validity. Meanwhile, she had gained the confidence of her husband, by her persuasion and caresses; and no sooner were the guards withdrawn, than she engaged him to escape with her in the night-time, and take shelter in Dunbar. Many of her subjects here offered her their services; and Mary, having collected an army, which the conspirators had no power to resist, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. They made applications however to the earl of Bothwell, a new favorite of Mary's; and that nobleman, desirous of strengthening his party by the accession of their interest, was able to pacify her resentment; and he soon after procured them liberty to return into their own country ⁷⁶.

THE vengeance of the queen of Scots was implacable against her husband alone, whose person was before disagreeable to her, and who, by his violation of every tie of gratitude and

⁷⁶ Melvil, p. 75, 76. Keith, p. 334. Knox, p. 398.

C H A P. duty, had now drawn on him her highest resentment. She engaged him to disown all connexions
 XXXIX. with the assassins, to deny any concurrence in
 1566. their crime, even to publish a proclamation containing a falsehood so notorious to the whole world⁷⁷; and having thus made him expose himself to universal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him ever to acquire the confidence of any party, she threw him off with disdain and indignation⁷⁸. As if she had been making an escape from him, she suddenly withdrew to Alloa, a seat of the earl of Marre's; and when Henry followed her thither, she suddenly returned to Edinburgh; and gave him every where the strongest proofs of displeasure; and even of antipathy. She encouraged her courtiers in their neglect of him; and she was pleased, that his mean equipage and small train of attendants should draw on him the contempt of the very populace. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the castle of Edinburgh, which Mary had chosen for the place of her delivery. She there brought forth a son; and as this was very important news to England, as well as to Scotland, she immediately dispatched Sir James Melvil to carry intelligence of the happy event to Elizabeth. Melvil tells us, that this princess, the evening of his arrival in London, had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, and was

19th June.

⁷⁷ Goodall, vol. i. p. 280. Keith, Append. p. 167.

⁷⁸ Melvil, p. 66, 67.

displaying all that spirit and alacrity, which usually attended her on these occasions: But when news arrived of the prince of Scotland's birth, all her joy was damped: She sunk into melancholy; she reclined her head upon her arm; and complained to some of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself was but a barren stock. Next day, however, at the reception of the ambassador, she resumed her former dissimulation, put on a joyful countenance, gave Melvil thanks for the haste he had made in conveying to her the agreeable intelligence, and expressed the utmost cordiality and friendship to her sister⁷⁹. Some time after, she dispatched the earl of Bedford, with her kinsman George Cary, son of lord Hunfdon, in order to officiate at the baptism of the young prince; and she sent by them some magnificent presents to the queen of Scots.

THE birth of a son gave additional zeal to Mary's partisans in England⁸⁰; and even men of the most opposite parties began to cry aloud for some settlement of the succession. These humors broke out with great vehemence in a new session of parliament, held after six prorogations. The house of peers, which had hitherto forbore to touch on this delicate point, here took the lead; and the house of commons soon after imitated the zeal of the lords. Molineux opened the matter in the lower house, and proposed that

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1566.

30th Sept;
A parlia-
ment.

⁷⁹ Melvil, p. 69, 70. ⁸⁰ Camden, p. 397.

C H A P. the question of the succession and that of supply
 XXXIX. should go hand in hand; as if it were intended
 1566. to constrain the queen to a compliance with the
 request of her parliament⁸¹. The courtiers endeavoured to elude the debate: Sir Ralph Sadler told the house, that he had heard the queen positively affirm, that, for the good of her people, she was determined to marry. Secretary Cecil and Sir Francis Knollys gave their testimony to the same purpose; as did also Sir Ambrose Cave, chancellor of the dutchy, and Sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of the household⁸². Elizabeth's ambition and masculine character was so well known, that few members gave any credit to this intelligence; and it was considered merely as an artifice, by which she endeavoured to retract that positive declaration, which she had made in the beginning of her reign, that she meant to live and die a virgin. The ministers, therefore, gained nothing farther by this piece of policy, than only to engage the house, for the sake of decency, to join the question of the queen's marriage with that of a settlement of the crown; and the commons were proceeding with great earnestness in the debate, and had even appointed a committee to confer with the lords, when express orders were brought them from Elizabeth not to proceed farther in the matter. Cecil told them, that she pledged to the house the word of a queen for her sincerity in her

⁸¹ D'Ewes, p. 129. ⁸² Ibid. p. 124.

intentions to marry; that the appointment of a successor would be attended with great danger to her person; that she herself had had experience, during the reign of her sister, how much court was usually paid to the next heir, and what dangerous sacrifices men were commonly disposed to make of their present duty to their future prospects; and that she was therefore determined to delay, till a more proper opportunity, the decision of that important question⁸³. The house was not satisfied with these reasons, and still less with the command, prohibiting them all debate on the subject. Paul Wentworth, a spirited member, went so far as to question whether such a prohibition were not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the house⁸⁴. Some even ventured to violate that profound respect, which had hitherto been preserved to the queen; and they affirmed that she was bound in duty, not only to provide for the happiness of her subjects during her own life, but also to pay regard to their future security, by fixing a successor; that, by an opposite conduct, she showed herself the stepmother, not the natural parent, of her people, and would seem desirous, that England should no longer subsist than she should enjoy the glory and satisfaction of governing it; that none but timorous princes, or tyrants, or faint-hearted women, ever stood in fear of their successors; and that the affections of the people were a firm

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1566.

⁸³ D'Ewes, p. 127, 128. ⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 128.

U N A P. and impregnable rampart to every sovereign,
 XXXIX. who, laying aside all artifice or bye-ends, had courage and magnanimity to put his sole trust in that honorable and sure defence⁸⁵. The queen, hearing of these debates, sent for the speaker, and after reiterating her former prohibition, she bade him inform the house, that, if any member remained still unsatisfied, he might appear before the privy council, and there give his reasons⁸⁶. As the members showed a disposition, notwithstanding these peremptory orders, still to proceed upon the question, Elizabeth thought proper, by a message, to revoke them, and to allow the house liberty of debate⁸⁷. They were so mollified by this gracious condescension, that they thenceforth conducted the matter with more calmness and temper; and they even voted her a supply, to be levied at three payments, of a subsidy and a fifteenth, without annexing any condition to it. The queen soon after dissolved the parliament, and told them, with some sharpness in the conclusion, that their proceedings had contained much dissimulation and artifice; that under the plausible pretences of marriage and succession, many of them covered very malevolent intentions towards her; but that, however, she reaped this advantage from the attempts of these men, that she could now distinguish her friends from her enemies. “ But

2d January,
 1567.

⁸⁵ Camden, p. 400. ⁸⁶ D'Ewes, p. 128.
⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 130.

“ do you think, ” added she, “ that I am
 “ unmindful of your future security, or will be
 “ negligent in settling the succession? That is the
 “ chief object of my concern; as I know myself
 “ to be liable to mortality. Or do you apprehend,
 “ that I meant to encroach on your liberties?
 “ No: It was never my meaning; I only
 “ intended to stop you before you approached
 “ the precipice. All things have their time; and
 “ though you may be blessed with a sovereign
 “ more wise or more learned than I, yet I assure
 “ you, that no one will ever rule over you,
 “ who shall be more careful of your safety. And
 “ therefore, henceforward, whether I live to see
 “ the like assembly or no, or whoever holds the
 “ reins of government, let me warn you to
 “ beware of provoking your sovereign’s patience,
 “ so far as you have done mine. But I shall
 “ now conclude, that, notwithstanding the
 “ disgusts I have received (for I mean not to
 “ part with you in anger) the greater part of
 “ you may assure themselves that they go home
 “ in their prince’s good graces ”.

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1567.

ELIZABETH carried farther her dignity on this occasion. She had received the subsidy without any condition; but as it was believed, that the commons had given her that gratuity with a view of engaging her to yield to their requests, she thought proper, on her refusal, voluntarily to remit the third payment; and she said, that

“ D’Ewes, p. 116, 117.

C H A P. money in her subjects' purses was as good to her
 XXXIX. as in her own exchequer⁸⁹.

1567.

BUT though the queen was able to elude, for the present, the applications of parliament, the friends of the queen of Scots multiplied every day in England; and besides the catholics, many of whom kept a treasonable correspondence with her, and were ready to rise at her command⁹⁰, the court itself of Elizabeth was full of her avowed partisans. The duke of Norfolk, the earls of Leicester, Pembroke, Bedford, Northumberland, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and most of the considerable men in England, except Cecil, seemed convinced of the necessity of declaring her the successor. None but the more zealous protestants adhered either to the countess of Hertford, or to her aunt, Eleanor, countess of Cumberland; and as the marriage of the former seemed liable to some objections, and had been declared invalid, men were alarmed, even on that side, with the prospect of new disputes concerning the succession. Mary's behaviour also, so moderate towards the protestants, and so gracious towards all men, had procured her universal respect⁹¹; and the public was willing to ascribe any imprudences, into which she had fallen, to her youth and inexperience. But all these flattering prospects were blasted by the subsequent incidents; where her egregious indiscretions, shall I say, or atro-

⁸⁹ Camden, p. 400. ⁹⁰ Haynes, p. 446. 448.

⁹¹ Melvil, p. 53. 61. 74

cious crimes, threw her from the height of her prosperity, and involved her in infamy and in ruin.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1567.

THE earl of Bothwel was of a considerable family and power in Scotland; and though not distinguished by any talents either of a civil or military nature, he had made a figure in that party, which opposed the greatness of the earl of Murray, and the more rigid reformers. He was a man of profligate manners; had involved his opulent fortune in great debts, and even reduced himself to beggary, by his profuse expences⁹²; and seemed to have no resource but in desperate counsels and enterprises. He had been accused more than once of an attempt to assassinate Murray; and though the frequency of these accusations on all sides diminish somewhat the credit due to any particular imputation, they prove sufficiently the prevalence of that detestable practice in Scotland, and may in that view serve to render such rumors the more credible. This man had of late acquired the favor and entire confidence of Mary; and all her measures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were spread of more particular intimacies between them; and these reports gained ground from the continuance or rather increase of her hatred towards her husband⁹³. That young prince was reduced to such a state of desperation, by the neglects which he underwent from his queen

Murder of
Darnley.

⁹² Keith, p. 240.

⁹³ Melvil, p. 66, 77.

C H A P. and the courtiers, that he had one resolved to
 XXXIX. fly secretly into France or Spain, and had even
 1567. provided a vessel for that purpose⁹⁴. Some of
 the most considerable nobility, on the other hand,
 observing her rooted aversion to him, had pro-
 posed some expedients for a divorce; and though
 Mary is said to have spoken honorably on the
 occasion, and to have embraced the proposal no
 farther than it should be found consistent with
 her own honor and her son's legitimacy⁹⁵, men
 were inclined to believe, that the difficulty of
 finding proper means for effecting that purpose,
 was the real cause of laying aside all farther
 thoughts of it. So far were these suspicions
 against her carried, that, when Henry, discour-
 aged with the continual proofs of her hatred,
 left the court and retired to Glasgow, an illness
 of an extraordinary nature, with which he was
 seized immediately on his arrival in that place,
 was universally ascribed by her enemies to a dose
 of poison, which, it was pretended, she had
 administered to him.

WHILE affairs were in this situation, all those
 who wished well to her character or to public
 tranquillity, were extremely pleased, and some-
 what surprised, to hear, that a friendship was
 again conciliated between them, that she had
 taken a journey to Glasgow on purpose to visit
 him during his sickness, that she behaved towards

⁹⁴ Keith, p. 345—348. ⁹⁵ Camden, p. 404. Good-
 all's Queen Mary, vol. ii. p. 317.

him with great tenderneſs, that ſhe had brought him along with her, and that ſhe appeared thenceforth determined to live with him on a footing more ſuitable to the connexions between them. Henry, naturally uxorious, and not diſtrusting this ſudden reconciliation, put himſelf implicitly into her hands, and attended her to Edinburgh. She lived in the palace of Holy-rood-houſe; but as the ſituation of the place was low, and the concourſe of people about the court was neceſſarily attended with noiſe, which might diſturb him in his preſent infirm ſtate of health, theſe reaſons were aſſigned for fitting up an apartment for him in a ſolitary houſe, at ſome diſtance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary here gave him marks of kindneſs and attachment; ſhe converſed cordially with him; and ſhe lay ſome nights in a room below his; but on the ninth of February, ſhe told him, that ſhe would paſs that night in the palace, becauſe the marriage of one of her ſervants was there to be celebrated in her preſence. About two o'clock in the morning the whole town was much alarmed at hearing a great noiſe; and was ſtill more aſtoniſhed, when it was diſcovered that the noiſe came from the King's houſe which was blown up by gun-powder; that his dead body was found at ſome diſtance in a neighbouring field; and that no marks either of fire, contuſion, or violence appeared upon it⁹⁶.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1567.

Feb. 10.

⁹⁶ It was imagined, that Henry had been ſtrangled before the houſe was blown up. But this ſuppoſition is

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1567.

No doubt could be entertained but Henry was murdered; and general conjecture soon pointed towards the earl of Bothwel as the author of the crime⁹⁷. But as his favor with Mary was visible, and his power great, no one ventured to declare openly his sentiments; and all men remained in silence and mute astonishment. Voices, however, were heard in the streets, during the darkness of the night, proclaiming Bothwel, and even Mary herself, to be murderers of the king; bills were secretly affixed on the walls to the same purpose; offers were made, that, upon giving proper securities, his guilt should be openly proved: But after one proclamation from the court, offering a reward and indemnity to any one that would discover the author of that villany, greater vigilance was employed in searching out the spreaders of the libels and reports against Bothwel and the queen, than in tracing the contrivers of the king's assassination, or detecting the regicides⁹⁸.

THE earl of Lenox, who lived at a distance from court, in poverty and contempt, was roused by the report of his son's murder, and wrote to the queen, imploring speedy justice against the

contradicted by the confession of the criminals; and there is no necessity to admit it in order to account for the condition of his body. There are many instances that men's lives have been saved who had been blown up in ships. Had Henry fallen on water he had not probably been killed.⁹⁷ Melvil, p. 78. Cabala, p. 136.

⁹⁸ Anderson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 38. vol. iv. p. 167, 168. Spotswood, p. 200. Keith, p. 374.

assassins ; among whom he named the earl of Bothwel, Sir James Balfour, and Gilbert Balfour his brother, David Chalmers, and four others of the queen's household ; all of them persons who had been mentioned in the bills affixed to the walls at Edinburgh⁹⁹. Mary took his demand of speedy justice in a very literal sense ; and allowing only fifteen days for the examination of this important affair, she sent a citation to Lenox, requiring him to appear in court, and prove his charge against Bothwel¹⁰⁰. This nobleman, meanwhile, and all the other persons, accused by Lenox, enjoyed their full liberty¹⁰¹ ; Bothwel himself was continually furrounded with armed men¹⁰² ; took his place in council¹⁰³ ; lived during some time in the house with Mary¹⁰⁴ ; and seemed to possess all his wonted confidence and familiarity with her. Even the castle of Edinburgh, a place of great consequence in this critical time, was intrusted to him, and under him, to his creature, Sir James Balfour, who had himself been publicly charged as an accomplice in the king's murder¹⁰⁵. Lenox, who had come as far as Stirling, with a view of appearing at the trial, was informed of all these circumstances ; and reflecting on the small train which attended him, he began to entertain very just apprehensions from

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1567.

⁹⁹ Keith, p. 372. Anderson, vol. ii. p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Keith, p. 373. ¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 374, 375.

¹⁰² Ibid. p. 405. ¹⁰³ Anderson, vol. i. p. 38. 40. 50. 52.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 274. ¹⁰⁵ Spotswood, p. 201.

C H A P. the power, insolence, and temerity of his enemy.

*XXXIX. He wrote to Mary, desiring that the day of trial
1567. might be prorogued; and conjured her, by all

12th April.

the regard which she bore to her own honor, to employ more leisure and deliberation in determining a question of such extreme moment ¹⁰⁶. No regard was paid to his application: The jury was enclosed, of which the earl of Caithness was chancellor; and though Lenox, foreseeing this precipitation, had ordered Cuningham, one of his retinue, to appear in court, and protest in his name, against the acquittal of the criminal, the jury proceeded to a verdict ¹⁰⁷. The verdict was such as it behoved them to give, where neither accuser nor witness appeared; and Bothwell was absolved from the king's murder. The jury, however, apprehensive that their verdict would give great scandal, and perhaps expose them afterwards to some danger, entered a protest, in which they represented the necessity of their proceedings ¹⁰⁸. It is remarkable, that the indictment was laid against Bothwell for committing the crime on the ninth of February, not the tenth, the real day on which Henry was assassinated ¹⁰⁹. The interpretation generally put upon this error, too gross, it was thought, to have proceeded from mistake, was, that the secret council, by whom

¹⁰⁶ Keith, p. 375. Anderson, vol. i. p. 52.

¹⁰⁷ Keith, p. 376. Anderson, vol. ii. p. 106. Spotswood, p. 201. ¹⁰⁸ Ibid. Anderson, vol. i. p. 113.

¹⁰⁹ Keith, p. 375. Anderson, vol. ii. p. 93. Spotswood, p. 201.

Mary was governed, not trusting entirely to precipitation, violence, and authority, had provided this plea, by which they ensured, at all adventures, a plausible pretence for acquitting Bothwel.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1567.

Two days after this extraordinary transaction, a parliament was held; and though the verdict in favor of Bothwel was attended with such circumstances as strongly confirmed, rather than diminished, the general opinion of his guilt, he was the person chosen to carry the royal sceptre on the first meeting of that national assembly¹¹⁰. In this parliament, a rigorous act was made against those who set up defamatory bills; but no notice was taken of the king's murder¹¹¹. The favor, which Mary openly bore to Bothwel, kept every one in awe; and the effects of this terror appeared more plainly in another transaction, which ensued immediately upon the dissolution of the parliament. A bond or association was framed, in which the subscribers, after relating the acquittal of Bothwel by a legal trial, and mentioning a farther offer, which he had made, to prove his innocence by single combat, oblige themselves, in case any person should afterwards impute to him the king's murder, to defend him with their whole power against such calumniators. After this promise, which implied no great assurance in Bothwel of his own innocence, the subscribers mentioned the necessity of their queen's marriage, in order to support the government; and they recom-

¹¹⁰ Keith, p. 78. Crawford, p. 14.

¹¹¹ Keith, p. 380.

C H A P. mended Bothwel to her as a husband ¹¹². This
 XXXIX. paper was subscribed by all the considerable
 1567. nobility there present. In a country, divided by
 24th April. violent factions, such a concurrence in favor of
 one nobleman, no-wise distinguished above the
 rest, except by his flagitious conduct, could never
 have been obtained, had not every one been
 certain, at least firmly persuaded, that Mary was
 fully determined on this measure ¹¹³. Nor would
 such a motive have sufficed to influence men,
 commonly so stubborn and untractable, had they
 not been taken by surprise, been ignorant of each
 other's sentiments, and over-awed by the present
 power of the court, and by the apprehensions of
 farther violence, from persons so little governed
 by any principles of honor and humanity. Even
 with all these circumstances, the subscription to
 this paper may justly be regarded as a reproach
 to the nation.

THE subsequent measures of Bothwel were
 equally precipitate and audacious. Mary having
 gone to Stirling to pay a visit to her son, he assem-
 bled a body of eight hundred horse, on pretence
 of pursuing some robbers on the borders; and having
 way-laid her on her return, he seized her person
 near Edinburgh, and carried her to Dunbar, with
 an avowed design of forcing her to yield to his
 purpose. Sir James Melvil, one of her retinue, was
 carried along with her, and says not, that he saw

¹¹² Keith. p. 381.
 volume.

¹¹³ See note [N] at the end of the

any signs of reluctance or constraint: He was even informed, as he tells us, by Bothwel's officers, that the whole transaction was managed in concert with her ¹¹⁴. A woman, indeed, of that spirit and resolution, which is acknowledged to belong to Mary, does not usually, on these occasions, give such marks of opposition to *real* violence, as can appear anywise doubtful or ambiguous. Some of the nobility, however, in order to put matters to farther trial, sent her a private message; in which they told her, that, if, in reality, she lay under force, they would use all their efforts to rescue her. Her answer was, that she had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but ever since her arrival had been so well treated, that she willingly remained with Bothwel ¹¹⁵. No one gave himself thenceforth any concern to relieve her from a captivity, which was believed to proceed entirely from her own approbation and connivance.

THIS unusual conduct was at first ascribed to Mary's sense of the infamy attending her purposed marriage; and her desire of finding some color to gloss over the irregularity of her conduct. But a pardon, given to Bothwel a few days after, made the public carry their conjectures somewhat farther. In this deed, Bothwel received a pardon for the violence committed on the queen's person; and for *all other crimes*: A clause, by which the murder of the king was indirectly forgiven. The rape

¹¹⁴ Melvil, p. 80. ¹¹⁵ Spotswood, p. 202.

CHAPTER. was then conjectured to have been only a contrivance, in order to afford a pretence for indirectly
 XXXIX. remitting a crime, of which it would have appeared
 1567. scandalous to make openly any mention¹¹⁶.

THESE events passed with such rapidity, that men had no leisure to admire sufficiently one incident, when they were surprised with a new one, equally rare and uncommon. There still, however, remained one difficulty, which it was not easy to foresee, how the queen and Bothwel, determined as they were to execute their shameful purpose, could find expedients to overcome. The man, who had procured the subscription of the nobility, recommending him as a husband to the queen, and who had acted this seeming violence on her person, in order to force her consent, had been married two years before to another woman; to a woman of merit, of a noble family, sister to the earl of Huntley. But persons blinded by passion, and infatuated with crimes, soon shake off all appearance of decency. A suit was commenced for a divorce between Bothwel and his wife; and this suit was opened at the same instant in two different, or rather opposite courts; in the court of the archbishop of St. Andrews, which was popish, and governed itself by the canon law; and in the new consistorial or commissariot court, which was protestant, and was regulated by the principles of the reformed teachers. The plea, advanced in each court, was so calculated

¹¹⁶ Anderson, vol. iv. part. ii. p. 64.

as to suit the principles which there prevailed: In the archbishop's court, the pretence of consanguinity was employed, because Bothwel was related to his wife in the fourth degree; in the commissariot court, the accusation of adultery was made use of against him. The parties too, who applied for the divorce, were different in the different courts: Bothwel was the person who sued in the former; his wife in the latter. And the suit in both courts was opened, pleaded, examined, and decided with the utmost precipitation; and a sentence of divorce was pronounced in four days ¹¹⁷.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1567.

THE divorce being thus obtained, it was thought proper, that Mary should be conducted to Edinburgh, and should there appear before the courts of judicature, and should acknowledge herself restored to entire freedom. This was understood to be contrived in a view of obviating all doubts with regard to the validity of her marriage. Orders were then given to publish in the church the bans between the queen and the duke of Orkney; for that was the title which he now bore; and Craig, a minister of Edinburgh, was applied to for that purpose. This clergyman, not content with having refused compliance, publicly in his sermons condemned the marriage; and exhorted all who had access to the queen, to give her their advice against so scandalous an alliance. Being called before the council, to answer for this

¹¹⁷ Anderson, vol. ii. p. 280.

C H A P. liberty, he showed a courage, which might cover
 XXXIX. all the nobles with shame, on account of their
 1567. tameness and servility. He said, that, by the rules
 of the church; the earl of Bothwel, being convicted of adultery, could not be permitted to marry; that the divorce between him and his former wife was plainly procured by collusion, as appeared by the precipitation of the sentence, and the sudden conclusion of his marriage with the queen; and that all the suspicions which prevailed, with regard to the king's murder, and the queen's concurrence in the former rape, would thence receive undoubted confirmation. He therefore exhorted Bothwel, who was present, no longer to persevere in his present criminal enterprises; and turning his discourse to the other counsellors, he charged them to employ all their influence with the queen, in order to divert her from a measure, which would load her with eternal infamy and dishonor. Not satisfied even with this admonition, he took the first opportunity of informing the public, from the pulpit, of the whole transaction, and expressed to them his fears, that, notwithstanding all remonstrances, their sovereign was still obstinately bent on her fatal purpose. "For
 " himself," he said, " he had already discharged
 " his conscience, and yet again would take heaven
 " and earth to witness, that he abhorred and
 " detested that marriage, as scandalous and hateful in the sight of mankind: But since the
 " Great, as he perceived, either by their flattery
 " or silence, gave countenance to the measure,

“ he besought the Faithful to pray fervently to
 “ the Almighty, that a resolution, taken contrary
 “ to all law, reason, and good conscience, might,
 “ by the divine blessing, be turned to the comfort
 “ and benefit of the church and kingdom”.
 These speeches offended the court extremely; and
 Craig was a-new summoned before the council,
 to answer for his temerity, in thus passing the
 bounds of his commission. But he told them,
 that the bounds of his commission were the word
 of God, good laws, and natural reason; and were
 the queen's marriage tried by any of these stand-
 ards, it would appear infamous and dishonorable,
 and would be so esteemed by the whole world.
 The council were so overawed by this heroic
 behaviour in a private clergyman, that they dis-
 missed him without farther censure or punish-
 ment ¹¹⁸.

BUT though this transaction might have recal-
 led Bothwel and the queen of Scots from their
 infatuation, and might have instructed them in
 the dispositions of the people, as well as in their
 own inability to oppose them; they were still
 resolute to rush forward, to their own manifest
 destruction. The marriage was solemnized by the
 bishop of Orkney, a protestant, who was after-
 wards deposed by the church for this scandalous
 compliance. Few of the nobility appeared at the
 ceremony: They had, most of them, either from
 shame or fear, retired to their own houses. The

¹¹⁸ Spotswood, p. 203. Anderson, vol. ii. p. 280.

C H A P. French ambassador, Le Croc, an aged gentleman
 XXXIX. of honor and character, could not be prevailed on,
 1567. though a dependant of the house of Guise, to
 Queen of Scots mar- countenance the marriage by his presence ¹¹⁹. Eliza-
 ries Both- beth remonstrated, by friendly letters and messages,
 wel. against the marriage ¹²⁰: The court of France
 made like opposition; but Mary, though on all
 other occasions she was extremely obsequious to
 the advice of her relations in that country, was
 here determined to pay no regard to their opi-
 nion.

THE news of these transactions, being carried
 to foreign countries, filled Europe with amazement,
 and threw infamy, not only on the principal ac-
 tors in them, but also on the whole nation, who
 seemed, by their submission and silence, and
 even by their declared approbation, to give their
 sanction to these scandalous practices ¹²¹. The
 Scots, who resided abroad, met with such re-
 proaches, that they durst nowhere appear in
 public; and they earnestly exhorted their coun-
 trymen at home, to free them from the public
 odium, by bringing to condign punishment the
 authors of such atrocious crimes. This intelligence,
 with a little more leisure for reflection, roused
 men from their lethargy; and the rumors, which,
 from the very beginning ¹²², had been spread against

¹¹⁹ Spotswood, p. 203. Melvil, p. 82.

¹²⁰ Keith, p. 392. Digges, p. 14. ¹²¹ Melvil, p. 82.
 Keith, p. 402. Anderson, vol. i. p. 128. 134.

¹²² Crawford, p. 11. Keith, Pref. p. 9.

Mary, as if she had concurred in the king's murder, seemed now, by the subsequent transactions, to have received a strong confirmation and authority. It was every where said, that even though no particular and direct proofs had as yet been produced of the queen's guilt, the whole tenor of her late conduct was sufficient, not only to beget suspicion, but to produce entire conviction against her: That her sudden resolution of being reconciled to her husband, whom before she had long and justly hated; her bringing him to court, from which she had banished him by neglects and rigors; her fitting up separate apartments for him; were all of them circumstances, which, though trivial in themselves, yet, being compared with the subsequent events, bore a very unfavorable aspect for her: That the least which, after the king's murder, might have been expected in her situation, was a more than usual caution in her measures, and an extreme anxiety to punish the real assassins, in order to free herself from all reproach and suspicion: That no woman, who had any regard to her character, would allow a man, publicly accused of her husband's murder, so much as to approach her presence, far less give him a share in her counsels, and endow him with favor and authority: That an acquittal, merely in the absence of accusers, was very ill fitted to satisfy the public; especially if that absence proceeded from a designed precipitation of the sentence, and from the terror, which her known friendship for the criminal had infused into every

C H A P. one : That the very mention of her marriage
 XXXIX. to such a person , in such circumstances , was
 1567. horrible ; and the contrivances of extorting a consent from the nobility , and of concerting a rape , were gross artifices , more proper to discover her guilt than prove her innocence : That where a woman thus shows a consciousness of merited reproach , and , instead of correcting , provides only thin glosses to cover her exceptionable conduct , she betrays a neglect of fame , which must either be the effect or the cause of the most shameful enormities : That to espouse a man , who had , few days before , been so scandalously divorced from his wife ; who , to say the least , was believed to have , a few months before , assassinated her husband , was so contrary to the plainest rules of behaviour , that no pretence of indiscretion or imprudence could account for such a conduct : That a woman , who , so soon after her husband's death , though not attended with any extraordinary circumstances , contracts a marriage , which might , in itself , be the most blameless , cannot escape severe censure ; but one who overlooks , for her pleasure , so many other weighty considerations , was equally capable , in gratifying her appetites , to neglect every regard to honor and humanity : That Mary was not ignorant of the prevailing opinion of the public , with regard to her own guilt , and of the inferences which would every where be drawn from her conduct ; and therefore , if she still continued to pursue measures which gave such just offence ,

she ratified, by her actions, as much as she could by the most formal confession, all the surmises and imputations of her enemies: That a prince was here murdered in the face of the world; Bothwel alone was suspected and accused; if he were innocent, nothing could absolve him, either in Mary's eyes or those of the public, but the detection and conviction of the real assassin; yet no inquiry was made to that purpose, though a parliament had been assembled; the sovereign and wife was here plainly silent from guilt, the people from terror: That the only circumstance, which opposed all these presumptions or rather proofs, was, the benignity and goodness of her preceding behaviour, which seemed to remove her from all suspicions of such atrocious inhumanity; but that the characters of men were extremely variable, and persons, guilty of the worst actions, were not always naturally of the worst and most criminal dispositions: That a woman who, in a critical and dangerous moment had sacrificed her honor to a man of abandoned principles, might thenceforth be led blindfold by him to the commission of the most enormous crimes, and was in reality no longer at her own disposal: And that, though one supposition was still left to alleviate her blame, namely, that Bothwel, presuming on her affection towards him, had of himself committed the crime, and had never communicated it to her, yet such a sudden and passionate love to a man, whom she had long known, could not easily be accounted for, with-

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1567.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1567.

out supposing some degree of preceding guilt; and as it appeared, that she was not afterwards restrained, either by shame or prudence, from incurring the highest reproach and danger, it was not likely that a sense of duty or humanity would have a more powerful influence over her.

THESE were the sentiments which prevailed throughout Scotland; and as the protestant teachers, who had great authority, had long borne an animosity to Mary, the opinion of her guilt was, by that means, the more widely diffused, and made the deeper impression on the people. Some attempts, made by Bothwel, and, as is pretended, with her consent, to get the young prince into his power, excited the most serious attention; and the principal nobility, even many of those who had formerly been constrained to sign the application in favor of Bothwel's marriage met at Stirling, and formed an association for protecting the prince, and punishing the king's murderers¹²³.

The earl of Athole himself, a known catholic, was the first author of this confederacy: The earls of Argyle, Morton, Marre, Glencairne, the lords Boyd, Lindsay, Hume, Semple, Kirkaldy of Grange, Tulibardine, and secretary Lethington, entered zealously into it. The earl of Murray, foreseeing such turbulent times, and being desirous to keep free of these dangerous factions, had, some time before, desired and obtained Mary's permission to retire into France.

¹²³ Keith, p. 394.

LORD Hume was first in arms; and leading a body of eight hundred horse, suddenly environed the queen of Scots and Bothwel, in the castle of Borthwic. They found means of making their escape to Dunbar; while the confederate lords were assembling their troops at Edinburgh, and taking measures to effect their purpose. Had Bothwel been so prudent as to keep within the fortrefs of Dunbar, his enemies must have dispersed for want of pay and subsistence; but hearing that the associated lords were fallen into distress, he was so rash as to take the field, and advance towards them. The armies met at Carberry Hill, about six miles from Edinburgh; and Mary soon became sensible, that her own troops disapproved of her cause, and were averse to spill their blood in the quarrel¹²⁴. After some bravadoes of Bothwel, where he discovered very little courage, she saw no resource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, and of putting herself, upon some general promises, into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amidst the insults of the populace; who reproached her with her crimes, and even held before her eyes, which way soever she turned, a banner, on which were painted the murder of her husband, and the distress of her infant son¹²⁵. Mary, overwhelmed with her calamities, had recourse to tears and lamentations. Mean-

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1567.
Insurrec-
tions in
Scotland.

15th June.

¹²⁴ Keith, p. 402. Spotswood, p. 207.

¹²⁵ Melvil, p. 83, 84.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1567.

while, Bothwel, during her conference with Grange, fled unattended to Dunbar; and fitting out a few small ships, set sail for the Orkneys, where he subsisted during some time by piracy. He was pursued thither by Grange, and his ship was taken, with several of his servants, who afterwards discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder, and were punished for the crime¹²⁶. Bothwel himself escaped in a boat, and found means to get a passage to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably about ten years after: An end worthy of his flagitious conduct and behaviour.

Imprison-
ment of
Mary.

THE queen of Scots, now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with such treatment as a sovereign may naturally expect from subjects, who have their future security to provide for, as well as their present animosity to gratify. It is pretended, that she behaved with a spirit very little suitable to her condition, avowed her inviolable attachment to Bothwel¹²⁷, and even wrote him a letter, which the lords intercepted, where she declared, that she would endure any extremity, nay, resign her dignity and crown itself, rather than relinquish his affections¹²⁸. The malecontents, finding the danger to which they were

¹²⁶ Anderson, vol. ii. p. 165, 166, &c.

¹²⁷ Keith, p. 419.

¹²⁸ Melvil, p. 84. The reality of this letter appears somewhat disputable; chiefly because Murray and his associates never mentioned it in their accusation of her before queen Elizabeth's commissioners.

exposed, in case Mary should finally prevail, thought themselves obliged to proceed with rigor against her; and they sent her next day under a guard to the castle of Lochlevin, situated in a lake of that name. The mistress of the house was mother to the earl of Murray; and as she pretended to have been lawfully married to the late king of Scots, she naturally bore an animosity to Mary, and treated her with the utmost harshness and severity.

ELIZABETH, who was fully informed of all those incidents, seemed touched with compassion towards the unfortunate queen; and all her fears and jealousies being now laid asleep, by the consideration of that ruin and infamy, in which Mary's conduct had involved her, she began to reflect on the instability of human affairs, the precarious state of royal grandeur, the danger of encouraging rebellious subjects; and she resolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinswoman. She sent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton ambassador to Scotland, in order to remonstrate both with Mary and the associated lords; and she gave him instructions, which, though mixed with some lofty pretensions, were full of that good sense which was so natural to her, and of that generosity which the present interesting conjuncture had called forth. She empowered him to declare in her name to Mary, that the late conduct of that princess, so enormous, and in every respect so unjustifiable, had given her the highest offence; and though she felt the

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1567.

G H A P.

XXXIX.

1567.

movements of pity towards her, she had once determined never to interpose in her affairs, either by advice or assistance, but to abandon her entirely, as a person whose condition was totally desperate, and honor irretrievable: That she was well assured, that other foreign princes, Mary's near relations, had embraced the same resolution; but, for her part, the late events had touched her heart with more tender sympathy, and had made her adopt measures more favorable to the liberty and interests of the unhappy queen: That she was determined not to see her oppressed by her rebellious subjects, but would employ all her good offices, and even her power, to redeem her from captivity, and place her in such a condition as would at once be compatible with her dignity, and the safety of her subjects: That she conjured her to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, except against the murderers of her husband; and as she herself was his near relation, she was better entitled than the subjects of Mary to interpose her authority on that head, and she therefore besought that princess, if she had any regard to her own honor and safety, not to oppose so just and reasonable a demand: That after those two points were provided for, her own liberty, and the punishment of her husband's assassins, the safety of her infant son was next to be considered; and there seemed no expedient more proper for that purpose, than sending him to be educated in England: And that, besides the security, which would attend his removal from a scene

of faction and convulsions , there were many other beneficial consequences , which it was easy to foresee as the result of his education in that country ¹²⁹.

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1567.

THE remonstrances , which Throgmorton was instructed to make to the associated lords , were entirely conformable to these sentiments , which Elizabeth entertained in Mary's favor. She empowered him to tell them , that , whatever blame she might throw on Mary's conduct , any opposition to their sovereign was totally unjustifiable , and incompatible with all order and good government : That it belonged not to them to reform , much less to punish , the mal-administration of their prince ; and the only arms , which subjects could in any case lawfully employ against the supreme authority , were entreaties , counsels , and representations : That if these expedients failed , they were next to appeal by their prayers to Heaven ; and to wait with patience till the Almighty , in whose hands are the hearts of princes , should be pleased to turn them to justice and to mercy. That she inculcated not this doctrine , because she herself was interested in its observance ; but because it was universally received in all well governed states , and was essential to the preservation of civil society : That she required them to restore their queen to liberty ; and promised , in that case , to concur with them in all proper expedients for regulating the government ,

¹²⁹ Keith , p. 411 , 412 , &c.

C H A P. for punishing the king's murderers, and for guard-
 XXXIX. ing the life and liberty of the infant prince : And
 1567. that if the services, which she had lately rendered the Scottish nation, in protecting them from foreign usurpation, were duly considered by them, they would repose confidence in her good offices, and would esteem themselves blameworthy, in having hitherto made no application to her¹³⁰.

ELIZABETH, besides these remonstrances, sent, by Throgmorton, some articles of accommodation, which he was to propose to both parties, as expedients for the settlement of public affairs ; and though these articles contained some important restraints on the sovereign power, they were in the main calculated for Mary's advantage, and were sufficiently indulgent to her¹³¹. The associated lords, who determined to proceed with greater severity, were apprehensive of Elizabeth's partiality ; and being sensible, that Mary would take courage from the protection of that powerful princess¹³², they thought proper, after several affected delays, to refuse the English ambassador all access to her. There were four different schemes proposed in Scotland, for the treatment of the captive queen : One, that she should be restored to her authority under very strict limitations : The second, that she should be obliged to resign her crown to the prince, be banished

¹³⁰ Keith, p. 414, 415, 429.

¹³¹ Ibid. p. 416.

¹³² Ibid. p. 427.

the kingdom, and be confined either to France or England; with assurances from the sovereign, in whose dominions she should reside, that she should make no attempts to the disturbance of the established government: The third, that she should be publicly tried for her crimes, of which her enemies pretended to have undoubted proof, and be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment: The fourth was still more severe, and required, that, after her trial and condemnation, capital punishment should be inflicted upon her¹³³. Throgmorton supported the mildest proposal; but though he promised his mistress's guarantee for the performance of articles, threatened the ruling party with immediate vengeance in case of refusal¹³⁴, and warned them not to draw on themselves, by their violence, the public reproach, which now lay upon their queen; he found, that, excepting secretary Lethington, he had not the good fortune to convince any of the leaders. All counsels seemed to tend towards the more severe expedients; and the preachers, in particular, drawing their examples from the rigorous maxims of the Old Testament, which can only be warranted by particular revelations, inflamed the minds of the people against their unhappy sovereign¹³⁵.

THERE were several pretenders to the regency of the young prince, after the intended deposition

¹³³ Keith, p. 420.

¹³⁴ Ibid. p. 428.

¹³⁵ Ibid. p. 422. 426.

C H A P. of Mary. The earl of Lenox claimed that au-
 XXXIX. thority as grandfather to the prince : The duke
 1567. of Chatellerault, who was absent in France, had
 pretensions as next heir to the crown : But the
 greatest number of the associated lords inclined
 to the earl of Murray, in whose capacity they
 had entire trust; and who possessed the confidence
 of the preachers and more zealous reformers. All
 measures being therefore concerted, three instru-
 ments were sent to Mary, by the hands of lord
 Lindsay and Sir Robert Melvil; by one of which
 she was to resign the crown in favor of her son,
 by another to appoint Murray regent, by the
 third to name a council, which should administer
 the government till his arrival in Scotland. The
 queen of Scots, seeing no prospect of relief,
 lying justly under apprehensions for her life, and
 believing, that no deed, which she executed
 during her captivity, could be valid, was pre-
 vailed on, after a plentiful effusion of tears, to
 sign these three instruments; and she took not
 the trouble of inspecting any one of them ¹³⁶. In
 consequence of this forced resignation, the young
 prince was proclaimed king, by the name of
 29th July. James VI. He was soon after crowned at Stirling,
 and the earl of Morton took in his name the
 coronation-oath; in which a promise to extirpate
 heresy was not forgotten. Some republican pre-
 tensions, in favor of the people's power, were

¹³⁶ Melvil, p. 85. Spotswood, p. 211. Anderson, vol. iii.
 p. 19.

countenanced in this ceremony¹³⁷; and a coin was soon after struck, on which the famous saying of Trajan was inscribed, *Pro me ; si merear , in me : For me ; if I deserve it , against me*¹³⁸. Throgmorton had orders from his mistress not to assist at the coronation of the king of Scots¹³⁹.

THE council of regency had not long occasion to exercise their authority. The earl of Murray arrived from France, and took possession of his high office. He paid a visit to the captive queen; and spoke to her in a manner which better suited her past conduct than her present condition. This harsh treatment quite extinguished in her breast any remains of affection towards him¹⁴⁰. Murray proceeded afterwards to break, in a more public manner, all terms of decency with her. He summoned a parliament; and that assembly, after voting, that she was undoubtedly an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her demission of the crown, and acknowledged her son for king, and Murray for regent¹⁴¹. The regent, a man of vigor and abilities, employed himself successfully in reducing the kingdom. He bribed Sir James Balfour to surrender the castle of Edinburgh: He constrained the garrison of Dunbar to open their gates: And he demolished that fortress.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
156.

15th Dec.

¹³⁷ Keith, p. 439, 440.

¹³⁸ Ibid. p. 440. Append. p. 150.

¹³⁹ Ibid. p. 430.

¹⁴⁰ Melvil, p. 87. Keith, p. 445.

¹⁴¹ Anderson, vol. ii. p. 206, & seq.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1567.

BUT though every thing thus bore a favorable aspect to the new government, and all men seemed to acquiesce in Murray's authority; a violent revolution, however necessary, can never be effected without great discontents; and it was not likely, that, in a country, where the government, in its most settled state, possessed a very disjointed authority, a new establishment should meet with no interruption or disturbance. Few considerable men of the nation seemed willing to support Mary, so long as Bothwel was present; but the removal of that obnoxious nobleman had altered the sentiments of many. The duke of Chatellerault, being disappointed of the regency, bore no good will to Murray; and the same sentiments were embraced by all his numerous retainers: Several of the nobility, finding that others had taken the lead among the associators, formed a faction apart, and opposed the prevailing power: And besides their being moved by some remains of duty and affection towards Mary, the male-content lords, observing every thing carried to extremity against her, were naturally led to embrace her cause, and shelter themselves under her authority. All who retained any propensity to the catholic religion, were induced to join this party; and even the people in general, though they had formerly either detested Mary's crimes, or blamed her imprudence, were now inclined to compassionate her present situation, and lamented, that a person, possessed of so many amiable accomplishments, joined to such high dignity,

should be treated with such extreme severity¹⁴². C H A P.
 Animated by all these motives, many of the prin- XXXIX.
 cipal nobility, now adherents to the queen of
 Scots, met at Hamilton, and concerted measures
 for supporting the cause of that princess.

WHILE these humors were in fermentation,
 Mary was employed in contrivances for effecting
 her escape; and she engaged, by her charms
 and caresses, a young gentleman, George Dou-
 glas, brother to the laird of Lochlevin, to assist
 her in that enterprise. She even went so far as
 to give him hopes of espousing her, after her mar-
 riage with Bothwell should be dissolved on the
 plea of force; and she proposed this expedient to
 the regent, who rejected it. Douglas, however,
 persevered in his endeavours to free her from
 captivity, and having all opportunities of access
 to the house, he was at last successful in the
 undertaking. He conveyed her in disguise into
 a small boat, and himself rowed her ashore.
 She hastened to Hamilton; and the news of her
 arrival in that place being immediately spread
 abroad, many of the nobility flocked to her with
 their forces. A bond of association for her de-
 fence was signed by the earls of Argyle, Huntley,
 Eglington, Crawford, Cassilis, Rothes, Mont-
 rose, Sutherland, Errol, nine bishops, and nine
 barons, besides many of the most considerable
 gentry¹⁴³. And in a few days an army, to the

1568.

2d May.

¹⁴² Buchanan, lib. xviii. c. 53. ¹⁴³ Keith, p. 475.

C H A P. number of six thousand men , were assembled
XXXIX. under her standard.

1568.

ELIZABETH was no sooner informed of Mary's escape , than she discovered her resolution of persevering in the same generous and friendly measures , which she had hitherto pursued. If she had not employed force against the regent , during the imprisonment of that princess , she had been chiefly withheld by the fear of pushing him to greater extremities against her ¹⁴⁴ ; but she had proposed to the court of France an expedient , which , though less violent , would have been no less effectual for her service : She desired that France and England should by concert cut off all commerce with the Scots , till they should do justice to their injured sovereign ¹⁴⁵. She now dispatched Leighton into Scotland to offer both her good offices , and the assistance of her forces , to Mary ; but as she apprehended the entrance of French troops into the kingdom , she desired that the controversy between the queen of Scots and her subjects might by that princess be referred entirely to her arbitration , and that no foreign succours should be introduced into Scotland ¹⁴⁶.

BUT Elizabeth had not leisure to exert fully her efforts in favor of Mary. The regent made haste to assemble forces ; and notwithstanding that his army was inferior in number to that of the queen

¹⁴⁴ Keith , p. 463. Cabala , p. 141.

¹⁴⁵ Keith , p. 462.

¹⁴⁶ Keith , p. 473. in the notes. Anderson , vol. iv. p. 26.

of Scots, he took the field against her. A battle was fought at Langside near Glasgow, which was entirely decisive in favor of the regent; and though Murray, after his victory, stopped the bloodshed, yet was the action followed by a total dispersion of the queen's party. That unhappy princess fled southwards from the field of battle with great precipitation, and came, with a few attendants, to the borders of England. She here deliberated concerning her next measures, which would probably prove so important to her future happiness or misery. She found it impossible to remain in her own kingdom: She had an aversion, in her present wretched condition, to return into France, where she had formerly appeared with so much splendor; and she was not, besides, provided with a vessel, which could safely convey her thither: The late generous behaviour of Elizabeth made her hope for protection, and even assistance, from that quarter¹⁴⁷; and as the present fears from her domestic enemies were the most urgent, she overlooked all other considerations, and embraced the resolution of taking shelter in England. She embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle; whence she immediately dispatched a messenger to London; notifying her arrival, desiring leave to visit Elizabeth, and craving her protection, in consequence of former

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1568.

15th May.

Mary flies
into Eng-
land.

¹⁴⁷ Jebb's Collection, vol. i. p. 420.

C H A P. professions of friendship, made her by that prin-
 XXXIX. cefs.

1568.

ELIZABETH now found herself in a situation, when it was become necessary to take some decisive resolution with regard to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and as she had hitherto, contrary to the opinion of Cecil, attended more to the motives of generosity than of policy¹⁴⁸; she was engaged by that prudent minister to weigh a-new all the considerations, which occurred in this critical conjuncture. He represented, that the party, which had dethroned Mary, and had at present assumed the government of Scotland, was always attached to the English alliance, and was engaged, by all the motives of religion and of interest, to persevere in their connexions with Elizabeth: That though Murray and his friends might complain of some unkind usage during their banishment in England, they would easily forget these grounds of quarrel, when they reflected, that Elizabeth was the only ally, on whom they could safely rely, and that their own queen, by her attachment to the catholic faith, and by her other connexions, excluded them entirely from the friendship of France, and even from that of Spain: That Mary, on the other hand, even before her violent breach with her protestant subjects, was in secret entirely governed by the counsels of the house of Guise; much more, would she implicitly comply with their views,

¹⁴⁸ Cabala, p. 140.

when, by her own ill conduct, the power of that family and of the zealous catholics was become her sole resource and security: That her pretensions to the English crown would render her a dangerous instrument in their hands; and, were she once able to suppress the protestants in her own kingdom, she would unite the Scottish and English catholics, with those of all foreign states, in a confederacy against the religion and government of England: That it behoved Elizabeth, therefore, to proceed with caution in the design of restoring her rival to the throne; and to take care, both that this enterprise, if undertaken, should be effected by English forces alone, and that full securities should beforehand be provided for the reformers and the reformation in Scotland: That above all, it was necessary to guard carefully the person of that princess; lest, finding this unexpected reserve in the English friendship, she should suddenly take the resolution of flying into France, and should attempt by foreign force to recover possession of her authority: That her desperate fortunes and broken reputation fitted her for any attempt; and her resentment, when she should find herself thus deserted by the queen, would concur with her ambition and her bigotry, and render her an unrelenting, as well as powerful, enemy to the English government: That if she were once abroad, in the hands of enterprising catholics, the attack on England would appear to her as easy as that on Scotland; and the only method,

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1568.

C H A P. she must imagine, of recovering her native king-
 XXXIX. dom, would be to acquire that crown, to which
 1568. she would deem herself equally entitled: That a
 neutrality in such interesting situations, though
 it might be pretended, could never without the
 most extreme danger, be upheld by the queen;
 and the detention of Mary was equally requisite,
 whether the power of England were to be em-
 ployed in her favor, or against her: That nothing,
 indeed, was more becoming a great prince than
 generosity; yet the suggestions of this noble prin-
 ciple could never, without imprudence, be con-
 sulted in such delicate circumstances as those in
 which the queen was at present placed; where
 her own safety and the interests of her people
 were ultimately concerned in every resolution
 which she embraced: That though the example
 of successful rebellion, especially in a neighbouring
 country, could no wise be agreeable to any
 sovereign, yet Mary's imprudence had been so
 great, perhaps her crimes so enormous, that the
 insurrection of subjects, after such provocation,
 could no longer be regarded as a precedent against
 other princes: That it was first necessary for Eli-
 zabeth to ascertain, in a regular and satisfactory
 manner, the extent of Mary's guilt, and thence
 to determine the degree of protection, which she
 ought to afford her against her discontented sub-
 jects: That as no glory could surpass that of
 defending oppressed innocence, it was equally
 infamous to patronise vice and murder on the
 throne; and the contagion of such dishonor
 would

would extend itself to all who countenanced or supported it : And that, if the crimes of the Scottish princess should, on inquiry, appear as great and certain as was affirmed and believed, every measure against her, which policy should dictate, would thence be justified; or if she should be found innocent, every enterprize, which friendship should inspire, would be acknowledged laudable and glorious.

AGREEABLY to these views, Elizabeth resolved to proceed in a seemingly generous, but really cautious manner, with the queen of Scots; and she immediately sent orders to lady Scrope, sister to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in the neighbourhood, to attend on that princess. Soon after, she dispatched to her lord Scrope himself, warden of the marches, and Sir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain. They found Mary already lodged in the castle of Carlisle; and after expressing the queen's sympathy with her in her late misfortunes, they told her, that her request of being allowed to visit their sovereign, and of being admitted to her presence, could not at present be complied with: Till she had cleared herself of her husband's murder, of which she was so strongly accused, Elizabeth could not without dishonor show her any countenance, or appear indifferent to the assassination of so near a kinsman¹⁴⁹. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and the necessity of her situa-

¹⁴⁹ Anderson, vol. iv. p. 54. 66. 82, 83. 86.

C H A P. tion extorted from her a declaration, that she
 XXXIX. would willingly justify herself to her sister from
 1568. all imputations, and would submit her cause to
 the arbitration of so good a friend¹⁵⁰. Two
 days after she sent lord Herreis to London with
 a letter to the same purpose.

THIS concession, which Mary could scarcely avoid, without an acknowledgment of guilt, was the point expected and desired by Elizabeth: She immediately dispatched Midlemore to the regent of Scotland; requiring him both to desist from the farther prosecution of his queen's party, and send some persons to London to justify his conduct with regard to her. Murray might justly be startled at receiving a message, so violent and imperious; but as his domestic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the sole ally, which he could expect among foreign nations, he was resolved rather to digest the affront than provoke Elizabeth by a refusal. He also considered, that, though that queen had hitherto appeared partial to Mary, many political motives evidently engaged her to support the king's cause in Scotland; and it was not to be doubted but so penetrating a princess would in the end discover this interest, and would at least afford him a patient and equitable hearing. He therefore replied, that he would himself take a journey to England, attended by other commis-

¹⁵⁰ Anderson, vol. iv. p. 10. 55. 87.

fioners, and would willingly submit the determination of his cause to Elizabeth ¹⁵¹.

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1568.

LORD Herreis now perceived, that his mistress had advanced too far in her concessions: He endeavoured to maintain, that Mary could not, without diminution of her royal dignity, submit to a contest with her rebellious subjects before a foreign prince; and he required either present aid from England, or liberty for his queen to pass over into France. Being pressed, however, with the former agreement before the English council, he again renewed his consent; but in a few days he began a-new to recoil; and it was with some difficulty that he was brought to acquiesce in the first determination ¹⁵². These fluctuations, which were incessantly renewed, showed his visible reluctance to the measures pursued by the court of England.

THE queen of Scots discovered no less aversion to the trial proposed; and it required all the artifice and prudence of Elizabeth to make her persevere in the agreement, to which she had at first consented. This latter princess still said to her, that she desired not, without Mary's consent and approbation, to enter into the question, and pretended only as a friend to hear her justification: That she was confident there would be found no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; and even if her apology should fall short of full conviction,

¹⁵¹ Anderson, p. vol. iv. 13—16.

¹⁵² Ibid. p. 16—20.

C H. A. P. Elizabeth was determined to support her cause,
 XXXIX. and procure her some reasonable terms of
 1568. accommodation: And that it was never meant,
 that she should be cited to a trial on the accusa-
 tion of her rebellious subjects; but on the
 contrary, that they should be summoned to
 appear and to justify themselves for their conduct
 towards her ¹⁵³. Allured by these plausible profes-
 sions, the queen of Scots agreed to vindicate
 herself by her own commissioners, before commis-
 sioners appointed by Elizabeth.

DURING these transactions, lord Scrope and
 Sir Francis Knolles, who resided with Mary at
 Carlisle, had leisure to study her character, and
 to make report of it to Elizabeth. Unbroken by
 her misfortunes, resolute in her purpose, active
 in her enterprises, she aspired to nothing but
 victory; and was determined to endure any
 extremity, to undergo any difficulty, and to try
 every fortune, rather than abandon her cause,
 or yield the superiority to her enemies. Eloquent,
 insinuating, affable, she had already convinced
 all those who approached her, of the innocence
 of her past conduct; and as she declared her
 fixed purpose to require aid of her friends all
 over Europe, and even to have recourse to
 infidels and barbarians, rather than fail of venge-
 ance against her persecutors, it was easy to foresee
 the danger, to which her charms, her spirit,
 her address, if allowed to operate with their

¹⁵³ Anderson. vol. iv. p. 11, 12, 13. 109, 110.

full force, would expose them¹⁵⁴. The court of England, therefore, who, under pretence of guarding her, had already, in effect, detained her prisoner, were determined to watch her with still greater vigilance. As Carlisle, by its situation on the borders, afforded her great opportunities of contriving her escape, they removed her to Bolton, a seat of lord Scrope's in Yorkshire: And the issue of the controversy between her and the Scottish nation was regarded as a subject more momentous to Elizabeth's security and interests, than it had hitherto been apprehended.

THE commissioners, appointed by the English court for the examination of this great cause, were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler; and York was named as the place of conference. Lesly, bishop of Ross, the lords Herreis, Levingstone, and Boyde, with three persons more, appeared as commissioners from the queen of Scots. The earl of Murray, regent, the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, lord Lindsay, and the abbot of Dumfermling were appointed commissioners from the king and kingdom of Scotland. Secretary Lethington, George Buchanan, the famous poet and historian, with some others, were named as their assistants.

It was a great circumstance in Elizabeth's glory, that she was thus chosen umpire between the factions of a neighbouring kingdom, which had,

4th Octob.
Conferences
at York and
Hampton,
court.

¹⁵⁴ Anderson, vol. iv. p. 54. 71, 72. 74. 78. 92.

C H A P. during many centuries, entertained the most violent jealousy and animosity against England; and her felicity was equally rare, in having the fortunes and fame of so dangerous a rival, who had long given her the greatest inquietude, now entirely at her disposal. Some circumstances of her late conduct had discovered a bias towards the side of Mary: Her prevailing interests led her to favor the enemies of that princess: The professions of impartiality, which she had made, were open and frequent; and she had so far succeeded, that each side accused her commissioners of partiality towards their adversaries¹⁵⁵. She herself appears, by the instructions given them, to have fixed no plan for the decision; but she knew, that the advantages, which she should reap, must be great, whatever issue the cause might take. If Mary's crimes could be ascertained by undoubted proof, she could for ever blast the reputation of that princess, and might justifiably detain her for ever a prisoner in England: If the evidence fell short of conviction, it was intended to restore her to the throne, but with such strict limitations, as would leave Elizabeth perpetual arbiter of all differences between the parties in Scotland, and render her in effect absolute mistress of the kingdom¹⁵⁶.

MARY's commissioners, before they gave in their complaints against her enemies in Scotland,

¹⁵⁵ Anderfon, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 40.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. 14, 15, &c. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 110.

entered a protest, that their appearance in the cause should nowise affect the independence of her crown, or be construed as a mark of subordination to England: The English commissioners received this protest, but with a reserve to the claim of England. The complaint of that princess was next read, and contained a detail of the injuries, which she had suffered since her marriage with Bothwel: That her subjects had taken arms against her, on pretence of freeing her from captivity; that when she put herself into their hands, they had committed her to close custody in Lochlevin; had placed her son, an infant, on her throne; had again taken arms against her after her deliverance from prison; had rejected all her proposals for accommodation; had given battle to her troops; and had obliged her, for the safety of her person, to take shelter in England¹⁵⁷. The earl of Murray, in answer to this complaint, gave a summary and imperfect account of the late transactions: that the earl of Bothwel, the known murderer of the late king, had, a little after committing that crime, seized the person of the queen and led her to Dunbar; that he acquired such influence over her as to gain her consent to marry him, and he had accordingly procured a divorce from his former wife, and had pretended to celebrate his nuptials with the queen; that the scandal of this transaction, the dishonor which it

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1568.

¹⁵⁷ Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 52. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 128. Haynes, p. 478.

C H A P. brought on the nation, the danger to which the
 XXXIX. infant prince was exposed from the attempts of
 1568. that audacious man, had obliged the nobility to
 take arms, and oppose his criminal enterprizes;
 that after Mary, in order to save him, had
 thrown herself into their hands, she still discovered
 such a violent attachment to him, that they
 found it necessary, for their own and the public
 safety, to confine her person, during a season,
 till Bothwell and the other murderers of her
 husband could be tried and punished for their
 crimes; and that during this confinement, she
 had voluntarily, without compulsion or violence,
 merely from disgust at the inquietude and vexa-
 tions attending power, resigned her crown to her
 only son, and had appointed the earl of Murray
 regent during the minority¹⁵⁸. The queen's an-
 swer to this apology was obvious: That she did
 not know and never could suspect, that Bothwel,
 who had been acquitted by a jury, and recom-
 mended to her by all the nobility for her husband,
 was the murderer of the king; that she ever was,
 and still continues desirous, that, if he be guilty,
 he may be brought to condign punishment; that
 her resignation of the crown was extorted from
 her by the well-grounded fears of her life, and
 even by direct menaces of violence; and that
 Throgmorton, the English ambassador, as well
 as others of her friends, had advised her to sign

¹⁵⁸ Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 64, & seq. Goodall,
 vol. ii. p. 144.

that paper, as the only means of saving herself from the last extremity, and had assured her, that a consent, given under these circumstances, could never have any validity ¹⁵⁹. C H A P. XXXIX. 1568.

So far the queen of Scots seemed plainly to have the advantage in the contest: And the English commissioners might have been surpris'd, that Murray had made so weak a defence, and had suppress'd all the material imputations against that princess, on which his party had ever so strenuously insisted; had not some private conferences previously informed them of the secret. Mary's commissioners had boasted, that Elizabeth, from regard to her kinswoman, and from her desire of maintaining the rights of sovereigns, was determin'd, how criminal soever the conduct of that princess might appear, to restore her to the throne ¹⁶⁰; and Murray, reflecting on some past measures of the English court, began to apprehend, that there were but too just grounds for these expectations. He believed, that Mary, if he would agree to conceal the most violent part of the accusation against her, would submit to any reasonable terms of accommodation; but if he once proceeded so far as to charge her with the whole of her guilt, no composition could afterwards take place; and should she ever be restored, either by the power of Elizabeth, or

¹⁵⁹ Anderson, vol. iv. p. 2. p. 60, & seq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 162.

¹⁶⁰ Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 45. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 127.

E H A P.
XXXIX.
1568.

the assistance of her other friends, he and his party must be exposed to her severe and implacable vengeance¹⁶¹. He resolved, therefore, not to venture rashly on a measure, which it would be impossible for him ever to recal; and he privately paid a visit to Norfolk and the other English commissioners, confessed his scruples, laid before them the evidence of the queen's guilt, and desired to have some security for Elizabeth's protection, in case that evidence should, upon examination, appear entirely satisfactory. Norfolk was not secretly displeased with these scruples of the regent¹⁶². He had ever been a partisan of the queen of Scots: Secretary Lethington, who began also to incline to that party, and was a man of singular address and capacity, had engaged him to embrace farther views in her favor, and even to think of espousing her: And though that duke confessed¹⁶³, that the proofs against Mary seemed to him unquestionable, he encouraged Murray in his present resolution not to produce them publicly in the conferences before the English commissioners¹⁶⁴.

NORFOLK, however, was obliged to transmit to court the queries proposed by the regent. These queries consisted of four particulars: Whether the English commissioners had authority

¹⁶¹ Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 47, 48. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 159.

¹⁶² Crawford, p. 92. Melvil, p. 94, 95. Haynes, p. 574.

¹⁶³ Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 77.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. 57. 77. State Trials, vol. i. p. 76.

from their sovereign to pronounce sentence against Mary, in case her guilt should be fully proved before them? Whether they would promise to exercise that authority, and proceed to an actual sentence? Whether the queen of Scots, if she were found guilty, should be delivered into the hands of the regent, or, at least, be so secured in England, that she never should be able to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland? and, Whether Elizabeth would also, in that case, promise to acknowledge the young king, and protect the regent in his authority¹⁶⁵?

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1568.

ELIZABETH, when these queries, with the other transactions, were laid before her, began to think, that they pointed towards a conclusion more decisive and more advantageous than she had hitherto expected. She determined, therefore, to bring the matter into full light; and under pretext that the distance from her person retarded the proceedings of her commissioners, she ordered them to come to London, and there continue the conferences. On their appearance, she immediately joined in commission with them some of the most considerable of her council; Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, the earls of Arundel and Leicester, lord Clinton, admiral, and Sir William Cecil, secretary¹⁶⁶. The queen of Scots, who knew nothing of these secret motives, and who expected, that fear or decency would still restrain

¹⁶⁵ Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 55. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 130.

¹⁶⁶ Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 99.

C H A P. Murray from proceeding to any violent accusation against her, expressed an entire satisfaction in this adjournment; and declared, that the affair, being under the immediate inspection of Elizabeth, was now in the hands where she most desired to rest it ¹⁶⁷. The conferences were accordingly continued at Hampton-Court; and Mary's commissioners, as before, made no scruple to be present at them.

THE queen, meanwhile, gave a satisfactory answer to all Murray's demands; and declared, that, though she wished and hoped, from the present inquiry, to be entirely convinced of Mary's innocence, yet if the event should prove contrary, and if that princess should appear guilty of her husband's murder, she should, for her own part, deem her ever after unworthy of a throne ¹⁶⁸. The regent, encouraged by this declaration, opened more fully his charge against the queen of Scots; and after expressing his reluctance to proceed to that extremity, and protesting, that nothing but the necessity of self-defence, which must not be abandoned for any delicacy, could have engaged him in such a measure, he proceeded to accuse her in plain terms of participation and consent in the assassination of the king ¹⁶⁹. The earl of Lenox too appeared before the English commissioners; and imploring vengeance for the

¹⁶⁷ Anderson, vol. iv. p. 95. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 177. 179.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 199. ¹⁶⁹ Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 115, & seq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 206.

murder of his son, accused Mary as an accomplice with Bothwel in that enormity ¹⁷⁰. C H A P. XXXIX.

1568.

WHEN this charge was so unexpectedly given in, and copies of it were transmitted to the bishop of Ross, lord Herreis, and the other commissioners of Mary, they absolutely refused to return an answer; and they grounded their silence on very extraordinary reasons: They had orders, they said, from their mistress, if any thing were advanced that might touch her honor, not to make any defence, as she was a sovereign princess, and could not be subject to any tribunal; and they required, that she should previously be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, to whom, and to whom alone, she was determined to justify her innocence ¹⁷¹. They forgot, that the conferences were at first begun, and were still continued, with no other view than to clear her from the accusations of her enemies; that Elizabeth had ever pretended to enter into them only as her friend, by her own consent and approbation, not as assuming any jurisdiction over her; that this princess had from the beginning refused to admit her to her presence, till she should vindicate herself from the crimes imputed to her; that she had therefore discovered no new signs of partiality by her perseverance in that resolution; and that though she had granted an audience to the earl of Murray and his colleagues, she had

¹⁷⁰ Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 122. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 208.

¹⁷¹ Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 125, & seq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 184. 211. 217.

C H A P.^r previously conferred the same honor on Mary's
 XXXIX. commissioners ¹⁷²; and her conduct was so far
 1568. entirely equal to both parties ¹⁷³.

As the commissioners of the queen of Scots refused to give in any answer to Murray's charge, the necessary consequence seemed to be, that there could be no farther proceedings in the conference. But though this silence might be interpreted as a presumption against her, it did not fully answer the purpose of those English ministers, who were enemies to that princess. They still desired to have in their hands the proofs of her guilt; and in order to draw them with decency from the regent, a judicious artifice was employed by Elizabeth. Murray was called before the English, commissioners, and reproved by them, in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations, which he had the temerity to throw upon his sovereign: But though the earl of Murray, they added, and the other commissioners, had so far forgotten the duty of allegiance to their prince, the queen never would overlook what she owed to her friend, her neighbour, and her kinswoman; and she therefore desired to know what they could say in their own justification ¹⁷⁴. Murray, thus urged, made no difficulty in producing the proofs of his charge against

¹⁷² Lesly's Negotiations in Anderson, vol. iii. p. 25.
 Haynes, p. 487.

¹⁷³ See note [O] at the end of the volume.

¹⁷⁴ Anderson, vol. iv. part. ii. p. 147. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 233.

the queen of Scots ; and among the rest, some love-letters and sonnets of her's to Bothwel, written all in her own hand, and two other papers, one written in her own hand, another subscribed by her, and written by the earl of Huntley ; each of which contained a promise of marriage with Bothwel, made before the pretended trial and acquittal of that nobleman.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
1568.

ALL these important papers had been kept by Bothwel in a silver box or casket, which had been given him by Mary, and which had belonged to her first husband, Francis ; and though the princess had enjoined him to burn the letters as soon as he had read them, he had thought proper carefully to preserve them, as pledges of her fidelity, and had committed them to the custody of Sir James Balfour, deputy-governor of the castle of Edinburgh. When that fortress was besieged by the associated lords, Bothwel sent a servant to receive the casket from the hands of the deputy-governor. Balfour delivered it to the messenger ; but as he had at that time received some disgust from Bothwel, and was secretly negotiating an agreement with the ruling party, he took care, by conveying private intelligence to the earl of Morton, to make the papers be intercepted by him. They contained incontestible proofs of Mary's criminal correspondence with Bothwel, of her consent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in the violence, which Bothwel pretended to commit

C H A P. upon her ¹⁷⁵. Murray fortified this evidence by
 XXXIX. some testimonies of correspondent facts ¹⁷⁶; and
 1568. he added, some time after, the dying confession
 of one Hubert, or French Paris, as he was called,
 a servant of Bothwel's, who had been executed
 for the king's murder, and who directly charged
 the queen with her being accessory to that criminal
 enterprize ¹⁷⁷.

MARY's commissioners had used every expedient to ward this blow, which they saw coming upon them, and against which, it appears, they were not provided with any proper defence. As soon as Murray opened his charge, they endeavoured to turn the conferences from an inquiry into a negociation; and though informed by the English commissioners, that nothing could be more dishonorable for their mistress, than to enter into a treaty with such undutiful subjects, before she had justified herself from those enormous imputations, which had been thrown upon her, they still insisted, that Elizabeth should settle terms of accommodation between Mary and her enemies in Scotland ¹⁷⁸. They maintained, that, till their mistress had given in her answer to Murray's charge, his proofs could

¹⁷⁵ Anderson, vol. ii. p. 115. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 1.

¹⁷⁶ Anderson, vol. ii. part. 2. p. 165, &c. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 243.

¹⁷⁷ Anderson, vol. ii. p. 192. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 76.

¹⁷⁸ Anderson, vol. ii. part. 2. p. 135. 139. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 224.

neither

neither be called for nor produced ¹⁷⁹: And finding, that the English commissioners were still determined to proceed in the method which had been projected, they finally broke off the conferences, and never would make any reply. These papers, at least translations of them, have since been published. The objections, made to their authenticity, are in general of small force: But were they ever so specious, they cannot now be hearkened to; since Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, did, in effect, ratify the evidence against her, by recoiling from the inquiry at the very critical moment, and refusing to give an answer to the accusation of her enemies ¹⁸⁰.

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1568.

BUT Elizabeth, though she had seen enough for her own satisfaction, was determined, that the most eminent persons of her court should also be acquainted with these transactions, and should be convinced of the equity of her proceedings. She ordered her privy-council to be assembled; and that she might render the matter more solemn and authentic, she summoned along with them the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Warwick. All the proceedings of the English commissioners were read to them: The evidences produced by Murray were perused: A great number

¹⁷⁹ Anderson, vol. iv. part. ii. p. 139. 145. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 228.

¹⁸⁰ See note [P] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. of letters, written by Mary to Elizabeth, were
 XXXIX. laid before them, and the hand-writing compar-
 1568. ed with that of the letters delivered in by the
 regent: The refusal of the queen of Scots' com-
 missioners to make any reply, was related: And
 on the whole, Elizabeth told them, that, as she
 had, from the first, thought it improper, that
 Mary, after such horrid crimes were imputed to
 her, should be admitted to her presence, before
 she had, in some measure, justified herself from
 the charge; so now, when her guilt was confirm-
 ed by so many evidences, and all answer refused,
 she must, for her part, persevere more steadily
 in that resolution ¹⁸¹. Elizabeth next called in
 the queen of Scots' commissioners, and after
 observing, that she deemed it much more decent
 for their mistress to continue the conferences,
 than to require the liberty of justifying herself
 in person, she told them, that Mary might either
 send her reply by a person whom she trusted,
 or deliver it herself to some English nobleman,
 whom Elizabeth should appoint to wait upon
 her: But as to her resolution of making no reply
 at all, she must regard it as the strongest confes-
 sion of guilt; nor could they ever be deemed
 her friends, who advised her to that method of
 proceeding ¹⁸². These topics she enforced still

¹⁸¹ Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 170, &c. Goodall,
 vol. ii. p. 254.

¹⁸² Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 179, &c. Goodall,
 vol. ii. p. 268.

more strongly in a letter, which she wrote to Mary herself ¹⁸³.

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1568.

THE queen of Scots had no other subterfuge from these pressing remonstrances than still to demand a personal interview with Elizabeth: A concession, which, she was sensible, would never be granted ¹⁸⁴; because Elizabeth knew, that this expedient could decide nothing; because it brought matters to extremity, which that princess desired to avoid; and because it had been refused from the beginning, even before the commencement of the conferences. In order to keep herself better in countenance, Mary thought of another device. Though the conferences were broken off: she ordered her commissioners to accuse the earl of Murray and his associates as the murderers of the king ¹⁸⁵: But this accusation coming so late, being extorted merely by a complaint of Murray's, and being unsupported by any proof, could only be regarded as an angry recrimination upon her enemy ¹⁸⁶. She also desired to have copies of the papers given in by the regent; but as she still persisted in her resolution to make no reply before the English commissioners, this demand was finally refused her ¹⁸⁷.

¹⁸³ Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2. p. 183. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 269.

¹⁸⁴ Cabala, p. 157.

¹⁸⁵ Goodall, vol. ii. p. 280.

¹⁸⁶ See note [Q] at the end of the volume.

¹⁸⁷ Goodall, vol. ii. p. 253. 283. 289. 310, 311. Haynes, vol. i. p. 492. See note [R] at the end of the volume.

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1568.

As Mary had thus put an end to the conferences, the regent expressed great impatience to return into Scotland; and he complained, that his enemies had taken advantage of his absence, and had thrown the whole government into confusion. Elizabeth, therefore, dismissed him; and granted him a loan of five thousand pounds, to bear the charges of his journey¹⁸⁸. During the conferences at York, the duke of Chatellerault arrived at London, in passing from France; and as the queen knew, that he was engaged in Mary's party, and had very plausible pretensions to the regency of the king of Scots, she thought proper to detain him till after Murray's departure. But notwithstanding these marks of favor, and some other assistance which she secretly gave this latter nobleman¹⁸⁹, she still declined acknowledging the young king, or treating with Murray as regent of Scotland.

ORDERS were given for removing the queen of Scots from Bolton, a place surrounded with catholics, to Tutbury in the county of Stafford; where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. Elizabeth entertained hopes, that this princess, discouraged by her misfortunes, and confounded by the late transactions, would be glad to secure a safe retreat from all the tempests with which she had been agitated; and she

¹⁸⁸ Rymer, tom. xv. p. 677.

¹⁸⁹ MS. in the Advocate's library. A. 3. 29. p. 128, 129, 130. from Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 1.

promised to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either voluntarily to resign her crown, or to associate her son with her in the government; and the administration to remain, during his minority, in the hands of the earl of Murray¹⁹⁰. But that high-spirited princess refused all treaty upon such terms, and declared that her last words should be those of a queen of Scotland. Besides many other reasons, she said, which fixed her in that resolution, she knew, that, if, in the present emergency, she made such concessions, her submission would be universally deemed an acknowledgment of guilt, and would ratify all the calumnies of her enemies¹⁹¹.

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1568.

MARY still insisted upon this alternative; either that Elizabeth should assist her in recovering her authority, or should give her liberty to retire into France, and make trial of the friendship of other princes; And as she asserted, that she had come voluntarily into England, invited by many former professions of amity, she thought, that one or other of these requests could not, without the most extreme injustice, be refused her. But Elizabeth sensible of the danger, which attended both these proposals, was secretly resolved to detain her still a captive; and as her retreat into England had been little voluntary, her claim upon the queen's generosity appeared much less urgent than she was willing to pretend. Necessity,

¹⁹⁰ Goodall, vol. ii. p. 295.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. p. 301.

C H A P. it was thought, would to the prudent justify her
 XXXIX. detention: Her past misconduct would apologize
 1568. for it to the equitable: And though it was
 foreseen, that compassion for Mary's situation,
 joined to her intrigues and insinuating behaviour,
 would, while she remained in England, excite
 the zeal of her friends, especially of the catholics;
 these inconveniences were deemed much inferior
 to those which attended any other expedient.
 Elizabeth trusted also to her own address, for
 eluding all those difficulties: She purposed to
 avoid breaking absolutely with the queen of
 Scots, to keep her always in hopes of an accom-
 modation, to negotiate perpetually with her,
 and still to throw the blame of not coming to
 any conclusion, either on unforeseen accidents,
 or on the obstinacy and perverseness of others.

WE come now to mention some English affairs,
 which we left behind us, that we might not
 interrupt our narrative of the events in Scotland,
 which form so material a part of the present reign.
 The term, fixed by the treaty of Cateau-Cambre-
 sis for the restitution of Calais, expired in 1567;
 and Elizabeth, after making her demand at the
 gates of that city, sent Sir Thomas Smith to
 Paris; and that minister, in conjunction with Sir
 Henry Norris, her resident ambassador, enforced
 her pretensions. Conferences were held on that
 head, without coming to any conclusion, satis-
 factory to the English. The chancellor, De
 l'Hospital, told the English ambassadors, that,
 though France by an article of the treaty was

obliged to restore Calais on the expiration of eight years, there was another article of the same treaty, which now deprived Elizabeth of any right, that could accrue to her by that engagement: That it was agreed, if the English should, during the interval, commit hostilities upon France, they should instantly forfeit all claim to Calais; and the taking possession of Havre and Dieppe, with whatever pretences that measure might be covered, was a plain violation of the peace between the nations: That though these places were not entered by force, but put into Elizabeth's hands by the governors, these governors were rebels; and a correspondence with such traitors was the most flagrant injury, that could be committed on any sovereign: That in the treaty, which ensued upon the expulsion of the English from Normandy, the French ministers had absolutely refused to make any mention of Calais, and had thereby declared their intention to take advantage of the title, which had accrued to the crown of France: And that though a general clause had been inserted, implying a reservation of all claims; this concession could not avail the English, who at that time possessed no just claim to Calais, and had previously forfeited all right to that fortress¹⁹². The queen was no wise surpris'd at hearing these allegations; and as she knew, that the French court intended not from the first to make restitution, much less after

C H A P.

XXXIX.

1568.

¹⁹² Haynes, p. 587.

E H A P. they could justify their refusal by such plausible
XXXIX. reasons, she thought it better for the present to
 1568. acquiesce in the loss, than to pursue a doubtful
 title by a war both dangerous and expensive, as
 well as unseasonable¹⁹³.

ELIZABETH entered a-new into negotiations for
 espousing the archduke Charles; and she seems,
 at this time, to have had no great motive of
 policy, which might induce her to make this
 fallacious offer: But as she was very rigorous in
 the terms insisted on, and would not agree, that
 the archduke, if he espoused her, should enjoy
 any power or title in England, and even refused
 him the exercise of his religion, the treaty came
 to nothing; and that prince, despairing of suc-
 cess in his addresses, married the daughter of
 Albert, duke of Bavaria¹⁹⁴.

¹⁹³ Camden, p. 406.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 407, 408.

N O T E S
T O T H E
S I X T H V O L U M E.

NOTE [A], p. 20.

SPOTSWOOD, p. 75. The same author, p. 92. tells us a story, which confirms this character of the popish clergy in Scotland. It became a great dispute in the university of St. Andrews, whether the *pater* should be said to God or the saints. The friars, who knew in general that the reformers neglected the saints, were determined to maintain their honor with great obstinacy, but they knew not upon what topics to found their doctrine. Some held that the *pater* was said to God *formaliter*, and to saints *materialiter*; others, to God *principaliter*, and to saints *minus principaliter*; others would have it *ultimate* and *non ultimate*: But the majority seemed to hold, that the *pater* was said to God *capiendo stricte*, and to saints *capiendo large*. A simple fellow, who served the sub-prior, thinking there was some great matter in hand, that made the doctors hold so many conferences together, asked him one day what the matter was; the sub-prior answering, *Tom*, that was the fellow's name, *we cannot agree to whom the paternoster should be said*. He suddenly replied, *To whom, Sir, should it be said, but unto God?* Then said the sub-prior, *What shall we do with the saints?* He answered, *Give them Aves and Creeds enow in the devil's name; for that may suffice them*. The answer going abroad, many said, *that he had given a wiser decision than all the doctors had done with all their distinctions*.

NOTE [B], p. 54.

ANOTHER act, passed this session, takes notice in the preamble, that the city of York, formerly well inhabited, was now much decayed: Infomuch that many of the cures could not afford a competent maintenance to the incumbents. To remedy this inconvenience, the magistrates were empowered to unite as many parishes as they thought proper. An ecclesiastical historian, Collier, vol. ii. p. 230, thinks, that this decay of York is chiefly to be ascribed to the dissolution of monasteries, by which the revenues fell into the hands of persons who lived at a distance.

A very grievous tax was imposed this session upon the whole stock and monied interest of the kingdom, and even upon its industry. It was a shilling in the pound yearly, during three years, on every person worth ten pounds or upwards: The double on aliens and denizens. These last, if above twelve years of age, and if worth less than twenty shillings, were to pay eight pence yearly. Every wether was to pay two-pence yearly; every ewe three-pence. The woollen manufactures were to pay eight-pence a pound on the value of all the cloth they made. These exorbitant taxes on money are a proof, that few people lived on money lent at interest: For this tax amounts to half of the yearly income of all money holders, during three years, estimating their interest at the rate allowed by law; and was too grievous to be borne, if many persons had been affected by it. It is remarkable, that no tax at all was laid upon land this session. The profits of merchandise were commonly so high, that it was supposed it could bear this imposition. The most absurd part of the laws seems to be the tax upon the woollen manufactures. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 36. The subsequent parliament repealed the tax on sheep and woollen cloth. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. cap. 23. But they continued the other tax a year longer. Ibid.

The clergy taxed themselves at six shillings in the pound to be paid in three years. This taxation was ratified in

parliament, which had been the common practice since the reformation, implying that the clergy have no legislative power, even over themselves. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 35.

NOTE [C], p. 156.

THE pope at first gave cardinal Pole powers to transact only with regard to the past fruits of the church lands; but being admonished of the danger attending any attempt towards a resumption of the lands, he enlarged the cardinal's powers, and granted him authority to ensure the future possession of the church lands to the present proprietors. There was only one clause in the cardinal's powers that has given occasion for some speculation. An exception was made of such cases as Pole should think important enough to merit the being communicated to the holy see. But Pole simply ratified the possession of all the church lands: and his commission had given him full powers to that purpose. See Harleian Miscellany, vol. vii. p. 264. 266 It is true, some councils have declared, that it exceeds even the power of the pope to alienate any church lands; and the pope, according to his convenience, or power, may either adhere to or recede from this declaration. But every year gave solidity to the right of the proprietors of church lands, and diminished the authority of the popes; so that men's dread of popery in subsequent times was more founded on party or religious zeal, than on very solid reasons.

NOTE [D], p. 217.

THE passage of Hollingshed, in the Discourse prefixed to his History, and which some ascribe to Harrison, is as follows. Speaking of the increase of luxury: Neither do I speak this in reproach of any man; God is my judge; but to shew, that I do rejoice rather to see how God has blessed us with his good gifts, and to behold how that in a time wherein all things are grown to most excessive prices, we do yet find the means to obtain and atchieve

such furniture as heretofore has been impossible: There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain, which have noted three things to be marvellously altered in England within their sound remembrance. One is the multitude of chimnies lately erected; whereas in their young days, there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm (the religious houses and manor places of their lords always excepted, and peradventure some great personage); but each made his fire against a reredosse in the hall where he dined and dressed his meat. The second is the great amendment of lodging: For, said they, our fathers and we ourselves have lain full oft upon straw-pallets covered only with a sheet under coverlets made of dagswaine or hopharlots (I use their own terms), and a good round log under their head instead of a bolster. If it were so, that the father or the good-man of the house had a matrafs or flockbed, and thereto a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the town: So well were they contented. Pillows, said they, were thought meet only for women in child-bed: As for servants, if they had any sheet above them, it was well: For seldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking straws, that ran oft through the canvas, and razed their hardened hides.—The third thing they tell of is, the exchange of Treene platters (*so called, I suppose, from Tree or Wood*) into pewter, and wooden spoons into silver or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene vessels in old time, that a man should hardly find (four pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salt) in a good farmer's house. *Description of Britain, chap. x.*—*Again, in chap. xvi.* In times past men were contented to dwell in houses builded of fallow, willow, &c.; so that the use of the oak was in a manner dedicated wholly unto churches, religious houses, princes' palaces, navigation, &c. but now fallow, &c. are rejected, and nothing but oak any where regarded; and yet see the change,

for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many altogether of straw, which is a fore alteration. In these the courage of the owner was a sufficient defence to keep the house in safety; but now the assurance of the timber must defend the men from robbing. Now have we many chimnies; and yet our tenderlings complain of rheums, catarrhs, and poses; then had we none but reredosses, and our heads did never ach. For as the smoke in those days was supposed to be a sufficient hardening for the timber of the house; so it was reputed a far better medicine to keep the good man and his family from the quake or pose, wherewith, as then, very few were acquainted. *Again, in chap. xviii.* Our pewterers in time past employed the use of pewter only upon dishes and pots, and a few other trifles for service; whereas now, they are grown into such exquisite cunning, that they can in a manner imitate by infusion any form or fashion of cup, dish, salt, or bowl or goblet which is made by goldsmith's craft, though they be never so curious and very artificially forged. In some places beyond the sea, a garnish of good flat English pewter (I say flat, because dishes and platters in my time begin to be made deep and like basons, and are indeed more convenient both for sauce and keeping the meat warm) is almost esteemed so precious as the like number of vessels that are made of fine silver. *If the reader is curious to know the hour of meals in queen Elizabeth's reign, he may learn it from the same Author.* With us the nobility, gentry, and students do ordinarily go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to supper at five, or between five and six at afternoon. The merchants dine and sup seldom before twelve at noon, and six at night, especially in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noon, as they call it, and sup at seven or eight; but out of term in our universities the scholars dine at ten.

Froissart mentions waiting on the duke of Lancaster at five o'clock in the afternoon, when he had supped. These

hours are still more early. It is hard to tell, why, all over the world, as the age becomes more luxurious, the hours become later. Is it the crowd of amusements that push on the hours gradually? or are the people of fashion better pleased with the secrecy and silence of nocturnal hours, when the industrious vulgar are all gone to rest? In rude ages men have few amusements or occupations but what daylight affords them.

NOTE [E], p. 233.

THE parliament also granted the queen the duties of tonnage and poundage; but this concession was at that time regarded only as a matter of form, and she had levied these duties before they were voted by parliament: But there was another exertion of power, which she practised, and which people, in the present age, from their ignorance of ancient practices, may be apt to think a little extraordinary. Her sister, after the commencement of the war with France, had, from her own authority, imposed four marks on each ton of wine imported, and had increased the poundage a third on all commodities. Queen Elizabeth continued these impositions as long as she thought convenient. The parliament, who had so good an opportunity of restraining these arbitrary taxes, when they voted the tonnage and poundage, thought not proper to make any mention of them. They knew, that the sovereign, during that age, pretended to have the sole regulation of foreign trade, and that their intermeddling with that prerogative would have drawn on them the severest reproof, if not chastisement. See Forbes, vol. i. p. 132, 133. We know certainly from the statutes and journals, that no such impositions were granted by parliament.

NOTE [F], p. 249.

KNOX, p. 127. We shall suggest afterwards some reasons to suspect, that, perhaps, no express promise was

ever given. Calumnies easily arise during times of faction, especially those of the religious kind, when men think every art lawful for promoting their purpose. The congregation in their manifesto, in which they enumerate all the articles of the regent's mal-administration, do not reproach her with this breach of promise. It was probably nothing but a rumor spread abroad to catch the populace. If the papists have sometimes maintained, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, their adversaries seem also to have thought, that no truth ought to be told of idolaters.

NOTE [G], p. 254.

SPOTSWOOD, p. 146. Melvil, p. 29. Knox, p. 225. 228. Lesly, lib. x. That there was really no violation of the capitulation of Perth, appears from the manifesto of the congregation in Knox, p. 184. in which it is not so much as pretended. The companies of Scotch soldiers were, probably, in Scotch pay, since the congregation complains, that the country was oppressed with taxes to maintain armies. Knox, p. 164, 165. And even if they had been in French pay, it had been no breach of the capitulation, since they were national troops, not French. Knox, does not say, p. 139, that any of the inhabitants of Perth were tried or punished for their past offences; but only that they were oppressed with the quartering of soldiers: And the congregation, in their manifesto, say only that many of them had fled for fear. This plain detection of the calumny with regard to the breach of the capitulation of Perth, may make us suspect a like calumny with regard to the pretended promise not to give sentence against the ministers. The affair lay altogether between the regent and the laird of Dun, and that gentleman, though a man of sense and character, might be willing to take some general professions for promises. If the queen, overawed by the power of the congregation, gave such a promise in order to have liberty to proceed to a sentence; How could she expect to have power to

execute a sentence so insidiously obtained? And to what purpose could it serve?

NOTE [H], p. 257.

KNOX, p. 153, 154, 155. This author pretends that this article was agreed to verbally, but that the queen's scribes omitted it in the treaty which was signed. The story is very unlikely, or rather very absurd; and in the mean time it is allowed, that the article is not in the treaty: Nor do the congregation, in their subsequent manifesto insist upon it. Knox, p. 184. Besides, Would the queen regent in an article of a treaty, call her own religion idolatry?

NOTE [I], p. 259.

THE Scotch lords in their declaration say, "How far
 " we have sought support of England, or of any other
 " prince, and what just cause we had and have so to do,
 " we shall shortly make manifest unto the world, to the
 " praise of God's holy name, and to the confusion of all
 " those that slander us for so doing: For this we fear
 " not to confess, that, as in this enterprise against the
 " devil, against idolatry and the maintainers of the same,
 " we chiefly and only seek God's glory to be notified unto
 " men, sin to be punished, and virtue to be maintained;
 " so where power faileth of ourselves, we will seek it,
 " wheresoever God shall offer the same." Knox, p. 176.

NOTE [K], p. 319.

THIS year the council of Trent was dissolved, which had sitten from 1545. The publication of its decrees excited a-new the general ferment in Europe; while the catholics endeavoured to enforce the acceptance of them, and the protestants rejected them. The religious controversies were too far advanced to expect that any conviction
 would

would result from the decrees of this council. It is the only general council which has been held in an age truly learned and inquisitive; and as the history of it has been written with great penetration and judgment, it has tended very much to expose clerical usurpations and intrigues, and may serve us as a specimen of more ancient councils. No one expects to see another general council, till the decay of learning and the progress of ignorance shall again fit mankind for these great impostures.

NOTE [L], p. 331.

IT appears, however, from Randolph's Letters, (See Keith, p. 290.) that some offers had been made to that minister, of seizing Lenox and Darnley, and delivering them into queen Elizabeth's hands. Melvil confirms the same story, and says, that the design was acknowledged by the conspirators, p. 56. This serves to justify the account given by the queen's party of the Raid of Baith, as it is called. See farther, Goodall, vol. ii. p. 358. The other conspiracy, of which Murray complained, is much more uncertain, and is founded on very doubtful evidence.

NOTE [M], p. 339.

BUCHANAN confesses that Rizzio was ugly; but it may be inferred, from the narration of that author, that he was young. He says, that on the return of the duke of Savoy to Turin, Rizzio was *in adolescentiæ vigore*; in the vigor of youth. Now that event happened only a few years before, lib. xvii. cap. 44. That Bothwel was young appears, among many other invincible proofs, from Mary's instructions to the bishop of Dumblain, her ambassador at Paris; where she says, that in 1559, only eight years before, he was *very young*. He might therefore have been about thirty when he married her. See Keith's History, p. 388. From the appendix to the *epistolæ regum Scotorum*, it appears, by authentic documents, that

Patrick, earl of Bothwel, father to James, who espoused queen Mary, was alive, till near the year 1560. Buchanan, by a mistake, which has been long ago corrected, calls him James.

NOTE [N], p. 358.

MARY herself confessed, in her instructions to the ambassadors, whom she sent to France, that Bothwel persuaded all the noblemen, that their application in favor of his marriage was agreeable to her, Keith, p. 389. Anderson, vol. i. p. 94. Murray afterwards produced to queen Elizabeth's commissioners a paper signed by Mary, by which she permitted them to make this application to her. This permission was a sufficient declaration of her intentions, and was esteemed equivalent to a command. Anderson, vol. iv. p. 59. They even asserted, that the house in which they met, was surrounded with armed men. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 141.

NOTE [O], p. 398.

MARY's complaints of the queen's partiality in admitting Murray to a conference was a mere pretext in order to break off the conference. She indeed employs that reason in her order for that purpose (see Goodall, vol. ii. p. 184), but in her private letter, her commissioners are directed to make use of that order to prevent her honor from being attacked, Goodall, vol. ii. p. 183. It was therefore the accusation only she was afraid of. Murray was the least obnoxious of all her enemies: He was abroad when her subjects rebelled and reduced her to captivity: He had only accepted of the regency, when voluntarily proffered him by the nation. His being admitted to queen Elizabeth's presence was therefore a very bad foundation for a quarrel, or for breaking off the conference; and was plainly a mere pretence.

NOTE [P], p. 401.

WE shall not enter into a long discussion concerning the authenticity of these letters: We shall only remark in general, that the chief objections against them are, that they are supposed to have passed through the earl of Morton's hands the least scrupulous of all Mary's enemies; and that they are, to the last degree, indecent, and even somewhat inelegant, such as it is not likely she would write. But to these presumptions we may oppose the following considerations. (1.) Though it be not difficult to counterfeit a subscription, it is very difficult, and almost impossible, to counterfeit several pages, so as to resemble exactly the hand-writing of any person. These letters were examined and compared with Mary's hand-writing, by the English privy-council, and by a great many of the nobility, among whom were several partisans of that princess. They might have been examined by the bishop of Ross, Herreis, and others of Mary's commissioners. The regent must have expected, that they would be very critically examined by them: And had they not been able to stand that test, he was only preparing a scene of confusion to himself. Bishop Lesly expressly declines the comparing of the hands, which he calls no legal proof, Goodall, vol. ii. p. 389. (2.) The letters are very long, much longer than they needed to have been, in order to serve the purposes of Mary's enemies; a circumstance, which increased the difficulty, and exposed any forgery the more to the risk of a detection. (3.) They are not so gross and palpable, as forgeries commonly are; for they still left a pretext for Mary's friends to assert, that their meaning was strained to make them appear criminal; see Goodall, vol. ii. p. 361. (4.) There is a long contract of marriage, said to be written by the earl of Huntley, and signed by the queen, before Bothwel's acquittal. Would Morton, without any necessity, have thus doubled the difficulties of the forgery, and the danger of detection? (5.) The letters are indiscreet; but such was apparently

Mary's conduct at that time: They are inelegant; but they have a careless, natural air, like letters hastily written between familiar friends. (6.) They contain such a variety of particular circumstances, as nobody could have thought of inventing, especially as they must necessarily have afforded her many means of detection. (7.) We have not the originals of the letters, which were in French: We have only a Scotch and Latin translation from the original, and a French translation professedly done from the Latin. Now it is remarkable, that the Scotch translation is full of Gallicisms, and is clearly a translation from a French original: Such as *make fault*, *faire des fautes*; *make it seem that I believe*, *faire semblant de le croire*; *make brek*, *faire breche*; *this is my first journay*, *c'est ma premiere journée*; *have you not desire to laugh*, *n'avez vous pas envie de rire*; *the place will hold unto the death*, *la place tiendra jusqu'à la mort*; *he may not come forth of the house this long time*, *il ne peut pas sortir du logis de long-tems*; *to make me advertisement*, *faire m'avertir*; *put order do it*, *mettre ordre à cela*; *discharge your heart*, *décharger votre cœur*; *make gud watch*, *faites bonne garde*, &c. (8.) There is a conversation which she mentions, between herself and the king one evening: But Murray produced before the English commissioners, the testimony of one Crawford, a gentleman of the Earl of Lenox, who swore, that the king, on her departure from him, gave him an account of the same conversation. (9.) There seems very little reason why Murray and his associates should run the risk of such a dangerous forgery, which must have rendered them infamous, if detected; since their cause, from Mary's known conduct, even without these letters, was sufficiently good and justifiable. (10.) Murray exposed these letters to the examination of persons qualified to judge of them: the Scotch council, the Scotch parliament, queen Elizabeth and her council, who were possessed of a great number of Mary's genuine letters. (11.) He gave Mary herself an opportunity of refuting and exposing him, if she had chosen to lay hold

of it. (12.) The letters tally so well with all the other parts of her conduct during that transaction, that these proofs throw the strongest light on each other. (13.) The duke of Norfolk, who had examined these papers, and who favored so much the queen of Scots, that he intended to marry her, and in the end lost his life in her cause, yet believed them authentic, and was fully convinced of her guilt. This appears not only from his letters above mentioned, to queen Elizabeth and her ministers, but by his secret acknowledgment to Banister, his most trusty confident. See State Trials, vol. i. p. 81. In the conferences between the duke, secretary Lethington, and the bishop of Ross, all of them zealous partisans of that princess, the same thing is always taken for granted. Ibid. p. 74, 75. See farther MS. in the Advocate's library. A. 3, 28. p. 314. from Cott. lib. Calig. c. 9. Indeed, the duke's full persuasion of Mary's guilt, without the least doubt or hesitation, could not have had place, if he had found Lethington or the bishop of Ross of a different opinion, or if they had ever told him that these letters were forged. It is to be remarked, that Lethington, being one of the accomplices, knew the whole bottom of the conspiracy against king Henry, and was, besides, a man of such penetration, that nothing could escape him in such interesting events. (14.) I need not repeat the presumption drawn from Mary's refusal to answer. The only excuse for her silence, is, that she suspected Elizabeth to be a partial judge: It was not, indeed, the interest of that princess to acquit and justify her rival and competitor; and we accordingly find that Lethington, from the secret information of the duke of Norfolk, informed Mary, by the bishop of Ross, that the queen of England never meant to come to a decision; but only to get into her hands the proofs of Mary's guilt, in order to blast her character. See State Trials, vol. i. p. 77. But this was a better reason for declining the conference altogether than for breaking it off, on frivolous pretences, the very moment the chief accusation was unexpectedly opened against her:

Though she could not expect Elizabeth's final decision in her favor, it was of importance to give a satisfactory answer, if she had any, to the accusation of the Scotch commissioners. That answer could have been dispersed for the satisfaction of the public, of foreign nations, and of posterity. And surely after the accusation and proofs were in queen Elizabeth's hands, it could do no harm to give in the answers. Mary's information, that the queen never intended to come to a decision, could be no obstacle to her justification. (15.) The very disappearance of these letters, is a presumption of their authenticity. That event can be accounted for no way but from the care of king James's friends, who were desirous to destroy every proof of his mother's crimes. The disappearance of Morton's narrative, and of Crawford's evidence, from the Cotton library, Calig. c. 1. must have proceeded from a like cause. See MS. in the Advocates' library, A. 3. 29. p. 88.

I FIND an objection made to the authenticity of the letters, drawn from the vote of the Scotch privy-council, which affirms the letters to be written and subscribed by queen Mary's own hand; whereas the copies given in to the parliament, a few days after, were only written, not subscribed. See Goodall, vol. ii. p. 64. 67. But it is not considered, that this circumstance is of no manner of force: There were certainly letters, true or false, laid before the council; and whether the letters were true or false, this mistake proceeds equally from the inaccuracy or blunder of the clerk. The mistake may be accounted for: The letters were only written by her: The second contract with Bothwel was only subscribed. A proper accurate distinction was not made; and they are all said to be written and subscribed. A late writer, Mr. Goodall, has endeavoured to prove, that these letters clash with chronology, and that the queen was not in the places mentioned in the letters, on the days there assigned: To confirm this, he produces charters and other deeds signed by the queen, where the date and place do not agree

with the letters. But it is well known, that the date of charters, and such like grants, is no proof of the real day on which they were signed by the fovereign. Papers of that kind commonly pass through different offices: The date is affixed by the first office; and may precede very long the day of the signature.

THE account given by Morton of the manner in which the papers came into his hands, is very natural. When he gave it to the English commissioners, he had reason to think it would be canvassed with all the feverity of able adversaries, interested in the highest degree to refute it. It is probable, that he could have confirmed it by many circumstances and testimonies; since they declined the contest.

THE sonnets are inelegant; infomuch, that both Brantome and Ronfard, who knew queen Mary's style, were assured, when they saw them, that they could not be of her composition. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 478. But no person is equal in his productions, especially one whose style is so little formed as Mary's must be supposed to be. Not to mention, that such dangerous and criminal enterprises leave little tranquillity of mind for elegant, poetical compositions.

IN a word, queen Mary might easily have conducted the whole conspiracy against her husband, without opening her mind to any one person except Bothwel, and without writing a scrap of paper about it; but it was very difficult to have conducted it so that her conduct should not betray her to men of discernment. In the present case, her conduct was so gross as to betray her to every body; and fortune threw into her enemies' hands, papers by which they could convict her. The same infatuation and imprudence, which happily is the usual attendant of great crimes, will account for both. It is proper to observe, that there is not one circumstance of the foregoing narrative, contained in the history, that is taken from Knox, Buchanan, or even Thuanus, or indeed, from any suspected authority.

NOTE [Q], p. 403.

UNLESS we take this angry accusation, advanced by queen Mary, to be an argument of Murray's guilt, there remains not the least presumption which should lead us to suspect him to have been any wise an accomplice in the king's murder. That queen never pretended to give any proof of the charge; and her commissioners affirmed at the time, that they themselves knew of none, though they were ready to maintain its truth by their mistress's orders, and would produce such proof as she should send them. It is remarkable, that, at that time, it was impossible for either her or them to produce any proof; because the conferences before the English commissioners were previously broken off.

It is true, the bishop of Ross, in an angry pamphlet, written by him under a borrowed name (where it is easy to say any thing), affirms, that lord Herreis, a few days after the king's death, charged Murray with the guilt, openly, to his face, at his own table. This latter nobleman, as Lesly relates the matter, affirmed, that Murray riding in Fife with one of his servants, the evening before the commission of that crime, said to him among other talk, *This night 'ere morning the lord Darnley shall lose his life.* See Anderson, vol. i. p. 75. But this is only a hearsay of Lesly's, concerning a hearsay of Herreis's; and contains a very improbable fact. Would Murray, without any use of necessity, communicate to a servant, such a dangerous and important secret, merely by way of conversation? We may also observe, that lord Herreis himself was one of queen Mary's commissioners who accused Murray. Had he ever heard this story, or given credit to it, was not that the time to have produced it? and not have affirmed, as he did, that he, for his part, knew nothing of Murray's guilt. See Goodall, vol. ii. p. 307.

THE earls of Huntley and Argyle accuse Murray of this crime; but the reason which they assign is ridiculous. He had given his consent to Mary's divorce from the king:

therefore he was the king's murderer. See Anderfon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 192. It is a fure argument, that thefe earls knew no better proof againft Murray, otherwife they would have produced it, and not have infifted on fo abfurd a prefumption. Was not this alfo the time for Huntley to deny his writing Mary's contract with Bothwel, if that paper had been a forgery?

MURRAY could have no motive to commit that crime. The king, indeed, bore him fome ill-will; but the king himfelf was become fo defpicable, both from his own ill conduct and the queen's averfion to him, that he could neither do good nor harm to any body. To judge by the event, in any cafe, is always abfurd; efpecially in the prefent. The king's murder, indeed, procured Murray the regency: But much more Mary's ill-conduct and imprudence, which he could not poffibly forefee, and which never would have happened, had fhe been entirely innocent.

NOTE [R], p. 403.

I BELIEVE there is no reader of common fenfe, who does not fee, from the narrative in the text, that the author means to fay, that queen Mary refufes constantly to answer before the Englifh commissioners, but offers only to answer in perfon before queen Elizabeth in perfon, contrary to her practice during the whole courfe of the conference, till the moment the evidence of her being an accomplice in her husband's murder is unexpectedly produced. It is true, the author having repeated four or five times an account of this demand of being admitted to Elizabeth's prefence, and having expreffed his opinion, that as it had been refufed from the beginning, even before the commencement of the conferences, fhe did not expect it would now be complied with; thought it impoffible his meaning could be mifunderftood (as indeed it was impoffible), and not being willing to tire his reader with continual repetitions, he mentions in a paffage or two, fimply, that fhe had

refused to make any answer. I believe also, there is no reader of common sense who peruses Anderson or Goodall's collections, and does not see, that, agreeably to this narrative, queen Mary insists unalterably and strenuously on not continuing to answer before the English commissioners, but insists to be heard in person, by queen Elizabeth in person; though once or twice, by way of bravado, she says simply, that she will answer and refute her enemies, without inserting this condition, which still is understood. But there is a person, that has writ an *Inquiry historical and critical into the evidence against Mary queen of Scots*; and has attempted to refute the foregoing narrative. He quotes a single passage of the narrative in which Mary is said simply to refuse answering; and then a single passage from Goodall, in which she boasts simply that she will answer; and he very civilly and almost directly calls the author a liar, on account of this pretended contradiction. That whole Inquiry, from beginning to end, is composed of such scandalous artifices; and from this instance, the reader may judge of the candor, fair dealing, veracity, and good manners of the Inquirer. There are indeed three events in our history, which may be regarded as touchstones of partymen. An English Whig, who asserts the reality of the popish plot, an Irish Catholic, who denies the massacre in 1641, and a Scotch Jacobite, who maintains the innocence of queen Mary, must be considered as men beyond the reach of argument or reason, and must be left to their prejudices.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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